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Sept 11. 1860

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Counties of

HAMPDEN, HAMPSHIRE, FRANKLIN, & BERKSHIRE.

Prepared for SAMUEL BOWLES & Co. Springfield, Mass.

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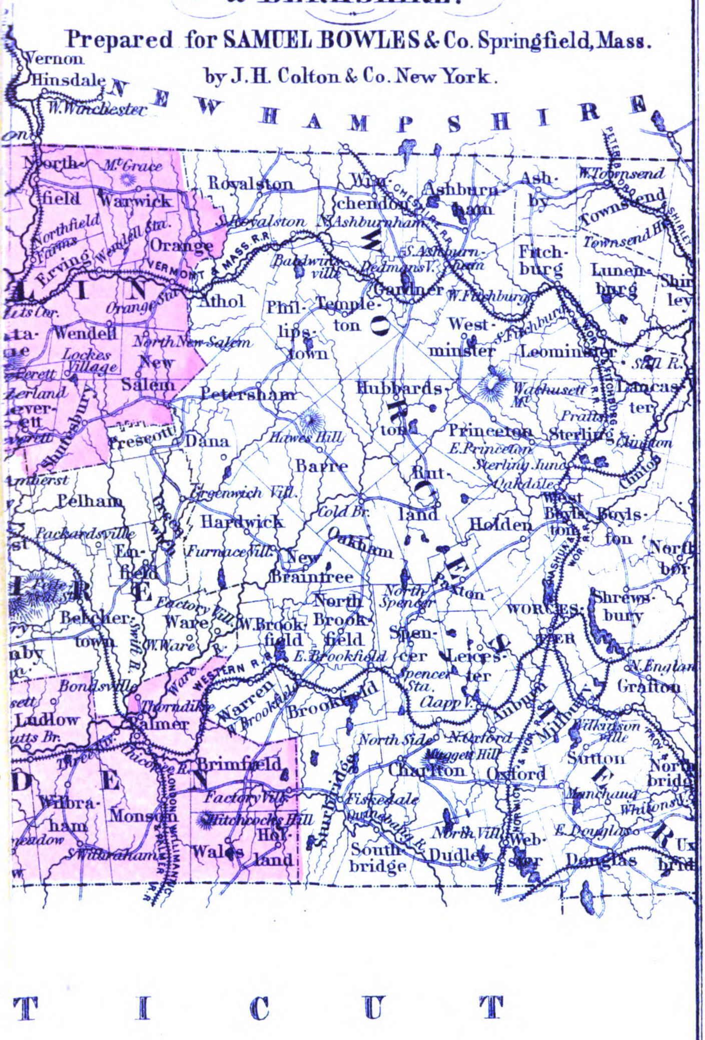

Vernon
Hinsdale
W. Winchester
NEW HAMPSHIRE
North-field
Mt. Grace
Warwick
Northfield Farms
Wendell Sta.
Orange
Erving
Royalston
S. Royalston
Win-chendon
Ashburn-ham
N. Ashburnham
Ash-by
W. Townsend
Townsend
Townsend H.
Peterboro & Shirley R.R.
Cheshire R.R.
Vermont & Mass. R.R.
Baldwins-ville
S. Ashburn-ham
Dedmans V.
Fitch-burg
Lunen-burg
Shir-ley
Gardner
W. Fitchburg
Athol
Orange Sta.
Wendell
Lockes Village
North New Salem
New Salem
Phil-lips-town
Temple-ton
West-minster
S. Fitchburg
Leominster
Still R.
Wor. & Fitchburg R.R.
Petersham
Hubbards-ton
Wachusett Mt.
Lancas-ter
Prescott
Shutesbury
Dana
Hawes Hill
Princeton
E. Princeton
Pratts
Sterling
Clinton
Barre
Rut-land
Sterling Junc.
Oakdale
Amherst
Pelham
Greenwich Vill.
Greenwich
Cold Br.
West Boyls-ton
Boyls-ton
Holden
North-boro
Packardsville
En-field
Hardwick
Oakham
Furnace Vill.
New Braintree
Nashua R.
Wor. R.R.
Shrews-bury
North Spencer
Paxton
Factory Vill.
Ware
W. Brook-field
North Brook-field
WORCESTER
Belcher-town
Swift R.
W. Ware
Spen-cer
Leices-ter
E. Brookfield
N. England
Grafton
Western R.R.
Bondsville
Ware R.
Thorndike
Spencer Sta.
Clapp V.
Warren
W. Brookfield
Brookfield
Auburn
Millbury
Ludlow
Palmer
Three Riv.
Chicopee R.
Brimfield
North Side
N. Oxford
Muggett Hill
Wilkinson ville
Sutton
North-bridge
Charlton
Oxford
Wilbra-ham
Monson
Factory Vill.
Hitchcocks Hill
Hol-land
Sturbridge
Fiskedale
Quinebaug R.
Manchaug
Whitins V.
Providence R.R.
S. Wilbraham
Wales
London, Willimantic & Palmer R.R.
North Vill.
Web-ster
E. Douglas
South-bridge
Dudley
Douglas
Ux-bridge
Norwich & Wor. R.R.
FRANKLIN
HAMPDEN
HAMPSHIRE
WORCESTER
TICUT

HISTORY

OF

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

THE COUNTIES OF

HAMPDEN, HAMPSHIRE, FRANKLIN, AND BERKSHIRE.

EMBRACING AN OUTLINE, OR GENERAL HISTORY, OF THE SECTION, AN
ACCOUNT OF ITS SCIENTIFIC ASPECTS AND LEADING INTERESTS,
AND SEPARATE HISTORIES OF ITS ONE HUNDRED TOWNS.

BY

JOSIAH GILBERT HOLLAND.

In Two Volumes and Three Parts.

VOL. I.—Parts I and II.

SPRINGFIELD:
PUBLISHED BY SAMUEL BOWLES AND COMPANY.
1855.

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PREFACE.

THE collection of the materials of this work, their composition, and their publication in weekly numbers in the columns of the *Springfield Republican*, originated in the wish to add value and interest to that paper, and were simply regarded, at first, as a newspaper enterprise. The initial number was issued during the first week of 1854, and but a few numbers had been presented to the public, when letters began to be received, from every quarter, expressive of the hope that the papers would be placed in a form more accordant with the character of a permanently valuable work. The writer had already become aware of the richness of the field upon which he had entered, and was only too happy to see that the importance of his undertaking was popularly appreciated. To produce a work of permanent value, rather than one of passing interest, became his leading motive, and the results are the two volumes here presented.

The plan of the work has its imperfections, as well as its marked advantages. It seemed necessary to present, at first, a history of the whole territory,—to carry it through the period of settlement, the inception of its industrial interests, the Indian, and French and Indian, wars, the Revolution,—through all those great processes, events and epochs to which the whole territory was related alike, and in which its components were intimately related to each other. Then, it seemed necessary to exhibit those leading interests and physical characteristics which, while they could hardly be introduced with propriety into the general civil and political history of a number of counties, would be still more out of place in the history of separate townships. In one case there would be loss of congruity and continuity; in the other, the sacrifice of that classification and grouping, absolutely necessary to the proper development of the subjects presented. Then, beyond all, there was the history of each town, of and within itself, —perhaps more important and interesting than all the rest.

Thus was the work naturally, and even necessarily, divided into three parts,—first, the outline history; second, the history of the leading interests and the description of the scientific aspects; and third, the history of the towns, of the region under historical treatment. The disadvantages of this plan are principally in the fact that no town history can be rendered complete in itself, without a repetition of certain facts stated in the two preceding parts of the work. This difficulty is sought to be remedied by giving references, in each town history, to the pages in Parts I and II where other facts necessary to complete the history of the town are stated.

It is hardly necessary to offer an apology for the division, historical and geographical, of Massachusetts, indicated in the title of this work. Old Hampshire County, extending originally from the uncertain Eastern line of New York on the West, into the present territory of Worcester County, on the East, and occupying, throughout that distance, the entire width of the Massachusetts patent, was, at first, in almost everything but the name, a colony of itself. The settlements were planted in the wilderness, and the waste of woods that lay between them and the seat of authority of the Massachusetts Bay, was hardly less to be dreaded, or easier of passage, than the waste of waters that interposed between the Bay and the Mother Country. Its interests have been developed by themselves. Its institutions, habits and customs have sprung out of its own peculiar wants, circumstances and spirit, and the history of Western Massachusetts is but the history of the old mother county and her children.

In the execution of this work, the author has been assisted by hands too numerous to be mentioned. Kind correspondents in each of the one hundred towns embraced in the work, have copied records, gathered statistics, and corrected mis-statements after their publication in the newspaper. By far the larger part of the work is from entirely new and original materials. That the labor of collecting these mate-

-rials, and arranging them in their present shape, has been arduous and perplexing, does not need to be told to those accustomed to similar efforts. But this labor would be well repaid, were the author not conscious that it must have been accompanied by many mistakes. Any one, in taking up the second volume of the work, will perceive that it is composed almost entirely of names and dates. These are presented in such numbers that a life-time would hardly suffice to verify them all. All that the author can say, is, that he has spared no practicable pains to make his work authentic, and that, although minor errors may be found, he believes that it may be accepted by the public as reliable in all essential points.

A few of the town histories have been published unaltered, as they were furnished by correspondents. Among them are the excellent histories of Brimfield, Greenfield, Stockbridge, and perhaps two or three others. Some of them have been greatly condensed from their manuscripts, while others have been drawn from every available source. Wherever a town history has been found in print, its pages have been freely used. The town histories will be found of unequal lengths, and of unequal importance and interest, in many instances. The difference results from various causes, among which the unequal manner in which the records of the towns have been kept, relatively, is the most prominent.

In the Second Part of the work, other pens than the writer's have done the more important office. The excellent paper on *Geology* is furnished by DR. EDWARD HITCHCOCK JR., of Williston Seminary, Easthampton; that on *Agriculture* by WILLIAM BACON ESQ., a practical farmer of Richmond, Berkshire County; and that on *Education* by ARIEL PARISH, A. M., principal of the Public High School, in Springfield. It is only justice to say that they have performed their tasks with entire success. Without offense to the many to whose politeness the author has been greatly indebted in the preparation of this work, he begs leave to acknowledge that bestowed by Sylvester Judd Esq. of Northampton, Hon. Oliver B. Morris of Springfield, Hon. H. W. Cushman of Bernardston, Lucius M. Boltwood Esq. of Amherst, Hon. William Hyde of Ware, Samuel Nash Esq. of Hadley, and Rev. Emerson Davis, D. D. of Westfield. To these gentlemen, and to the multitude of others, unnamed but not unremembered,—many thanks! In the Outline History, authorities have not been given, a fact which renders it proper to say that the published works to which the author is principally indebted are Hoit's Antiquities, Hubbard's Indian Wars, Dwight's Travels, Holmes' American Annals, Mather's Magnalia, and Minot's History of the Shays Rebellion. The principal published works consulted in the preparation of the town histories have been Field's History of Berkshire County and Packard's History of the Churches and Ministers in Franklin County.

Since the publication of the work in the Republican, it has been thoroughly revised, and portions of it entirely re-written; and, having honestly and laboriously endeavored to make it worthy of the place which it assumes to fill, it is submitted to the people of Western Massachusetts and all interested, with that strong confidence in their kind judgments which their constant and cheering interest in the progress of the work has been so well calculated to inspire.

REPUBLICAN OFFICE,
Springfield, January 1, 1855.

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PART I.

OUTLINE HISTORY.

HISTORY

OF

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—A SKETCH OF EARLY COLONIAL HISTORY.

AMONG the hills of Northern New Hampshire and the mountains that abound on the Southern border of Lower Canada, the "QUONEKTACUT RIVER"—the *Long River*—has its source. Forming, for a long distance, the boundary between Vermont and New Hampshire, it sweeps across the Western portion of Massachusetts, and, passing through the State to which it has given its name, discharges its pure waters into the sea. Another natural feature—the Green Mountain range—originates in the same Northern latitude. and, giving its name to Vermont, traverses that State, and rolling across Massachusetts still further West, passes into Connecticut, and loses itself upon its seaward looking plains. In their passage through Massachusetts, the river and the mountain range have imparted to the section they traverse the grandeur and beauty that characterize its surface. The three counties of Hampden, Hampshire and Franklin are strung upon the river as upon a silver cord. Fertile and beautiful meadows spread out on either hand, until they meet the Eastern and Western slopes that gather tribute for the sea-bound stream. This river, these meadows, these inward looking slopes, and these tributary streams, have determined the character of the industry which has appropriated them to the purposes of human life. There is hardly a farm or a workshop, a dwelling or a church, a road or a mill, but is connected in some way with Connecticut River. Its waters feed the pride of local feeling, and mingle with every local association. Thus, also, has the Green Mountain range given its character to Berkshire County, and thus shaped there the plastic forms of Industry. The streams that gather on the mountain sides turn the wheels of lonely or clustered manufactures, herds and flocks feed upon the sweet grasses that grow among the rocks and upon the smoother slopes, while many a favored home-lot nestles down upon a broad interval, watered by a stream that has found a smooth path, and shut out from bleak winds by the elevations that rise on every side.

The four counties that have thus received the impress of two of the most beautiful of the natural features of New England scenery, are spoken of in connection as "WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS." But two brief centuries ago, they were the home and hunting ground of the red man. Where now the homestead spreads its well tilled acres, the camp or the council fire sent its smoke up through the trees. Where now the busy wheel drives the noisy loom, the savage stalked alone, or gathered with rude strategem his tribute from the flood. Where the church and the school-house now stand, the Indian built his wigwam, and planted his corn. This beautiful realm, thus won from a wilderness by toil, and defended at the cost of much precious blood, has had, of course, an interesting history, which will be alike instructive and entertaining to all who now dwell within its borders. The links of association that bind our population to the past, though long, are strong. Multitudes who now till the soil of the Valley, or pursue the rougher husbandry of the Berkshire hills, bear the names and the blood of the first settlers, while the streams, hills, and meadows, from the Housatonic to the Connecticut, and from Hoosac to Taghconic, are still called by names first shaped by the Indian tongue.

"Ye say their cone-like cabins
That clustered o'er the vale,
Have disappeared as withered leaves
Before the Autumn's gale;
But their memory liveth on your hills,
Their Baptism on your shore,
Your everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of yore."

This region, thus beautiful in its natural scenery, and thus interesting in its history; thus varied in its industry, and thus inhabited by the descendents of the noblest men that ever founded a nation, must have a glorious destiny; and facts and statistics that will enable its inhabitants to form an estimate of that destiny, material and moral, cannot but be regarded with lively concern. It is the present purpose to recount this history, and present these facts and statistics.

The history of the first sixteen years of colonial life in Massachusetts is familiar to every New Englander, but it may not be inappropriate to introduce it, and pass it in brief review. In 1602, a little band of Puritans, in the South of England, moved alike by persecution and their own religious convictions, made a covenant "to walk with God and one another in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God, according to the primitive fashion." Among these was Mr. Robinson, a learned and godly minister, who, with a large number of his congregation, left England, and sought in Holland for that freedom of religious worship which his own country denied him. First settling in Amsterdam, they removed to Leyden in 1609, and there they lived, thought, prayed, and worshiped, in accordance with the liberality of their ideas and the straitness of their creed. Though they had escaped one evil, they ran into another scarcely less perplexing. The Dutch around, and on pleasant terms with them, were dissolute, and corrupted the morals and manners of the Puritan youth. So, in 1617, Mr. Robinson's flock began to talk about removing to America, thus securing the double object of religious liberty and exclusive religious society. They had, too, undoubtedly, higher motives than these,—motives which reached forward to the establishment, in a coming empire, of a simple, model church, that should grow, and be perpetual. It was a day of prayer, and solemn consultation, and of hope, doubt, fear and faith, when, in 1619, a portion of Mr. Robinson's congregation concluded to emigrate. The arrangements were made, the Speedwell lay rocking at Delft Haven, and the night previous to the embarkation was spent in tears and prayers, with the good friends in Amsterdam and Leyden who were to remain behind. They embraced each other, they bestowed upon one another the tenderest expressions of Christain endearment, they commended one another to God, and when, at last, came the parting hour, such were the manifestations of friendship that it "drew tears even from strangers who beheld the scene." At Southampton, the most of them took the Mayflower, after several miscarriages with the other vessel, and on the 6th of September, 1620, set sail, bidding farewell to the shores of the old world, and turning their eyes to the new. Long and boisterous was the passage, and when at last, on the 9th of November, the Virginia-bound emigrants found themselves, through the treachery of their Captain, confronted by the bleak shores of Cape Cod, it may well be supposed that the tears and distresses which the ocean winds had just swept away were renewed in all their bitterness. But they all prayed, and prayed again, and grew strong. And then they sat calmly down in their vessel, and drew up their civil contract, and chose John Carver for their Governor, giving utterance by their act to that great principle which lies at the basis of the institutions of a continent—that the will of the majority shall govern. Born of such parentage, and rocked by the ocean in the cradle of the Mayflower, it is no wonder that the infant principle has grown gigantic, and shakes thrones and thrall wherever it walks.

On the 21st of December, the Pilgrims disembarked, and knelt on Plymouth Rock. It is not necessary to tell the trials and terrors of that early settlement,—to tell how six of the number died during that very month, how their storehouse was burnt, how sickness and death reigned in every grief-stricken cabin during that terrible winter; how, in the following March, only fifty-five of the one hundred that came in the Mayflower survived; how Peregrine White came shivering into the world as the first-born of the colony, and how his mother Susanna was married in the

Spring to Mr. Edward Winslow (her husband having died meantime) and thus became first in every good work; and how Governor Carver died, and Mr. William Bradford was chosen as his successor.

Other settlers soon followed the pioneers. In 1622, Mr. Weston, a London merchant, sent out a couple of vessels with fifty or sixty men to settle in Massachusetts Bay, where he had secured a patent. They settled at Weymouth, having previously lived for a time at Plymouth. Soon, either because they were a godless company, or because they were distressed by poverty, they stole from the Indians, and in so doing brought a dangerous conspiracy against themselves, as well as the Plymouth colony, which was most Providentially discovered and averted. Cotton Mather did not think very highly of the "Westonians" who, he says, were "Church of England men," and this latter fact may account for the outspoken detraction with which he visited them.

In 1624, a settlement was made at Cape Ann, of new immigrants, and the same year the Plymouth colony, which had, in the meantime, received considerable accessions to its number, also received a good supply of clothing from abroad, and a bull and three heifers, the first cattle that had arrived in New England. In the year following, came the news of the death of the good pastor Robinson, at Leyden, and following closely this sad intelligence came his wife, children, and the most of his congregation, and the re-union of these old friends was rendered doubly tender and touching by the trials through which all had passed during their separation. Thus they went on together, until, in 1630, when they numbered some three hundred persons, they took out a patent covering a large extent of country, whose boundaries need not be defined here, and under their charter the colony governed itself until some seventy years later, when it was incorporated with Massachusetts.

The rapid settlement of Massachusetts Bay, which had thus far received but weak and scattered clusters of adventurers, commenced in 1628. In that year and the year following, a colony of more than two hundred persons, with four ministers attending them, planted themselves, their church, and their corn, at Salem, under Mr. Endicott. In this place, and by this people, the second church in New

England was organized. Another year brought over seventeen ships, with more than 1500 immigrants, comprising men of gentle birth and life, men of learning and mark, men of heroism and deep-toned piety, and women and children. And now the work of settling the wilderness went on apace. The immigrants planted themselves in Charlestown, Cambridge, Dorchester, Roxbury and Boston.

In 1629, an event occurred of vast importance to the colony, and one which, in its origin and development, presented a remarkable aspect. The directors of the corporate body created by royal patent in 1620, and called "The Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon for planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America," met, and, yielding to the voice of the more wealthy and important men who were anxious to emigrate from the religious thralldom at home, agreed that the company, its rights under the charter, and its government should be transferred to New England. Thus, a corporation which, by the terms of its charter, was to reside in London, transformed itself into an American company, and the King looked on, and found no fault. He was evidently glad to get rid of the troublesome Puritans at home, and supposed that he would have less trouble with them abroad, if he allowed them to manage their own concerns in their own way. However this might be, the event was pregnant with good to the colony. Having achieved this movement, they ordered a General Court for an election of officers, and chose John Winthrop, Governor; John Humfrey, deputy Governor; and a number of assistants. Thomas Dudley, one of the assistants, was afterwards chosen deputy Governor in place of Mr. Humfrey, and in 1630, the Governor and his deputy came over in the numerous fleet that sailed for the new world during that year. Thus the charter of Government, and the men to govern, were planted on New England soil. The first General Court of the colony was holden at Boston, and here the freemen attended in person. Here it was enacted that the freemen should in future choose the Assistants, who, in in turn, should choose from their own number the Governor and deputy Governor. This rule, however, stood less than a year, when it was decided at the next meeting of the Court that the freemen should choose not only the assistants, but the higher officers. This method of holding the General Court was not long persisted in. The number of freemen or voters had become so largely multiplied that their meeting in a body was inconvenient, and, by the general consent of the towns, the power of the freemen was delegated to twenty-four deputies or representatives, and to these representatives, the appellation of "General Court" was transferred.

On this basis of population and government, the prosperity and wonderful development of New England was established. It was such a population and such a government as the world had never seen. But just escaped from a country where toleration was an unknown word, deeply imbued with the religious sentiment, regarding the religious doctrines they held with an importance proportioned to the toils and sacrifices expended in their behalf, and conscientious to a sensitive degree, it is not strange that the religion and the religious doctrines of the Puritans were so placed in the basis of, and so became complicated with, the civil government, that their patriotism was tinged with illiberality, their religion with bigotry, and their government with intolerance. One of the first acts of the transplanted government was to make church membership a condition in the qualification of voters. Thus, indirectly, the whole power of the government was thrown into the hands of the clergy. Such intolerance as this would, at the present day, create a revolution in twenty-four hours, yet this act was not a whit more objectionable than hundreds of others passed in those days. But we judge a tree by its fruits. New England of to-day is the fruit of the tree then planted. It was planted in the love of God, and watered by prayer; and, in its vigorous growth, the defenses of intolerance and bigotry that were blindly staked around it, and chained to it for its protection against the tusks of libertinism and the teeth of schism, were upheaved by the swelling roots, and falling away, left only their scars upon the healthy rind.

Previous to 1633, nearly half a score of churches had been established in the Massachusetts colony, and in 1636, about twenty towns had been planted. In 1633, Britain became alarmed at the crowd that was pressing toward the prosperous colony, and the King issued an order to prevent further emigration. "There were many countermands given to the passage of people that were now steering of this Westward course; and there was a sort of uproar made among no small part of the nation that this people should not be let go." Notwithstanding this, Messrs. Cotton, Hooker, and Stone, ministers of note and high-toned piety, with 200 emigrants, evaded the order, and arrived at Boston, where Mr. Cotton remained, his two companions going to Cambridge. The colony had at this time become so strong that the arm and the spirit of adventure began to reach out into the wilderness, and then was born that disposition which has been perpetuated in all the descendants of the Puritans: *to go further West*—a disposition that had a worthy birth, has since conquered a world, and has worlds still to conquer. In the words of Cotton Mather:—

> "It was not long before the Massachuset Colony was become like an hive overstocked with bees, and many of the new inhabitants entertained thoughts of swarming into plantations extended further into the country. The colony might fetch its own descriptions from the dispensations of the Great God unto his ancient Israel, and say—'O God of Hosts! Thou hast brought a ruin out of England; Thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it; Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land; the hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars; she sent out her boughs unto the sea.' But still there was one stroak wanting for the compleat accommodations of the description; to wit, *she sent forth her branches unto the river*, and this, therefore, is to be next attended. The fame of Connecticut River, a long, fresh, rich river, had made a little Nilus of it, in the expectation of the good people about the Massachuset Bay, whereupon many of the planters, belonging especially to the towns of Cambridge, Dorchester, Watertown and Roxbury, took up resolutions to travel an hundred miles Westward from those towns, for a further settlement upon this famous river."

This "famous river" first became known to the English in 1631, and early in the Autumn of 1633, John Oldham, Samuel Hall and two others of Dorchester, journeyed through the wilderness, on a visit to its banks, and were probably the first white men who ever stood there. Pleased with the hospitality of the natives who entertained them, pleased with the stream and the meadows through which it ran, and pleased particularly with the beaver which they had received from the Indians, their report was, of course, a favorable one. Among other products of the Valley they reported hemp as growing in large quantities and of an excellent quality. Corn was cultivated by the natives, fish of the largest sort were stated to be in the river, such as sturgeon, bass, shad and salmon, (all of which but the salmon still remain,) while the woods were teeming with the noblest and most useful game. A number of men in the Plymouth colony now took the "Western fever," and in October, 1633, led by William Holmes, they made a water passage, sailing as far up the Connecticut as the present town of Windsor, Ct. Here they built the first dwelling house ever erected by civilized hands in the Connecticut Valley, though the Dutch from New Netherlands had a few days before thrown up a fortification at Dutch Point, Hartford, and from that point menaced the advancing vessel of Holmes, who with cool contempt passed confidently by, and received not a gun. Holmes enclosed his house with a stockade, bought his building spot of the Indians, and set up trade.

It was in 1634 that the people of the several towns to which Mather alludes began to think seriously of removing to the Connecticut River. In the month of July, of that year, six men from Newtown (Cambridge) visited the river to select a place for settlement, but the people were not immediately successful in obtaining liberty from the General Court to remove. In 1635, however, such permission was given, not only to the inhabitants of Cambridge, but to those of Dorchester and Watertown. The people of Roxbury obtained a similar favor in May of that year, and leave to emigrate was coupled with the condition, in each case, that emigrants should not remove from under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The Dorchester people went to Windsor, the Watertown people to Wethersfield, the Cambridge people to Hartford, and the Roxbury people to Agawam—the Springfield of the present—and with these latter commences the history of the settlement of WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST SETTLEMENT ON THE CONNECTICUT—SPRINGFIELD.

SOON, if not immediately after permission to remove had been granted to the citizens of Roxbury, two men—John Cable and John Woodcock—were sent forward to build a house for the plantation, and ancient records and manuscripts lead to the belief that William Pynchon, alike the founder of Roxbury and Springfield, together with Henry Smith his son-in-law, and Jehu Burr, had visited the spot in 1634, and selected the location. Considering the importance of the undertaking, and the leading position of Mr. Pynchon, it seems probable, almost to certainty, that the location of a plantation without his personal supervision and decision would never have been made. Woodcock and Cable built the house, and the first civil action tried in Springfield grew out of their joint agency in this structure, although they built it at the common charge of the planters. This house was built on the West side of the river, in the Agawam meadow, afterwards called "Housemeadow," from this circumstance. The location is incidentally described in the Registry of Deeds, in an entry by John Holyoke, in 1679, as "that meadow on the South of Agawam River where the English did first build a house," and where "the English kept their residence who first came to settle and plant at Springfield, now so called." They "kept their residence," (Cable and Woodcock) at this house during the Summer, planted on grounds that had been cultivated by the Indians, nearly opposite the present city of Springfield, and returned to Roxbury in the Autumn, probably, though it is not positively known that they did not remain during the Winter. This was doubtless the last of the occupation of the house, as the Indians, who were friendly to the settlers, and who were as well aware of the character of the ground as the present residents are, informed the builders that the site was subject to overflows. This intelligence, of course, caused a change to be made in the location of the plantation, and it has been stated that the builders abandoned the house, and built another on the East side of the river, "probably on the lot afterwards owned by Mr. Pynchon, and still in the possession of his descendants." No mention is made of this house in the allotment of land to Mr. Pynchon subsequently, and the statement seems to have no confirmation. In fact, the original record of the trial of the Woodcock and Cable case, above mentioned, speaks of their occupying the house and cultivating the grounds near them "*all that Sommer.*"

Mr. William Pynchon was the father of Springfield, and was revered as such while he lived here, and mourned as such when he departed. He had been connected with the affairs of the Massachusetts colony in England, having been one of the patentees named in the colony charter of 1628. When Governor Winthrop received his appointment, in 1629, Mr. Pynchon was appointed a magistrate and assistant, and accompanied the Governor in his passage to the colony, and settled at Roxbury. Mr. Pynchon was a man of wealth, education, piety, and consideration, and, from the first, exerted much influence in the colony. Early after the opening of the Spring, in 1636, he and his Roxbury associates packed up their goods at Roxbury, and dispatched them by water, in Governor Winthrop's vessel —the "Blessing of the Bay"—which sailed from Boston on the 26th of April. Bidding farewell to the scenes that, by the very hardships with which they had been associated, had become dear, the pilgrimage of sturdy manhood, buoyant youth, and tender but strong-hearted womanhood, through a hundred miles of wilderness, commenced. The eye spontaneously fills with tears as it turns back to this scene, of which imagination is the best and only painter. The weary marches of the day through a pathless forest, the fording of swollen streams, the camp-fires of the night, at which the friendly red men gathered, and where first they heard the name of God as it arose from supplicating lips, the rude couches upon which childhood and age threw themselves with a faith that transformed the very boughs beneath them into the arms of Providence, the morning sunlight creeping in through the rude old trees, arousing to the renewed march the aching limbs that had roamed all night, in dreams, in the busy streets or the quiet parks of Old England; the simple meal, blessed before the eating by a solemn and godly voice; the kind offices extended here and there to the weak and the fearful by noble hearts and strong hands; the pious conversation, mixed with subjects of import to the colony and the enterprise, as two or three wise ones trudged along together—all these have been unwritten, but, knowing the components of that little band, the fancy is weak that lacks power to realize them to itself in a large degree, or refuses to write them because the records fail.

By subsequent allusions to the "Bay path," and the incidental definition of its location, it is probable that the emigrants entered the territory then known as Agawam, (or Agaam as it was often spelled) upon the elevation now known as Springfield Hill. There they came in view of the "famous river," with which were associated their future prospects. Where multitudes of pilgrims have since paused to admire the beauty of the landscape, they paused, and looked down upon the silent river then unbridged, and off upon the Western hills, forest-crowned as now. There were no homes opened to receive them, no hospitable voices to bid them welcome. All was

"Noiseless as fear in a wide wilderness."

What wonder is it that such a band should be a pious band? Who doubts that, as they gazed around, and saw no hand to help, they stood there upon the unquestioned earth, and sent their silent aspirations on wings of faith to heaven?

The date of the arrival of the emigrants upon the river is not known, but it was probably among the first days of May, and immediately, as did the Pilgrims before landing at Plymouth, they set about the establishment of rules by which they would govern themselves and be governed. On the 14th of May, they drew up and signed an agreement, the original of which is now in the first book of records at the City Hall in Springfield. This document is signed by eight individuals, while the allotments of land to the settlers, which it disposes, are made to twelve. So ancient and important a record cannot be without interest, and it follows entire:

"May the 14th, 1636.—We whose names are underwritten, being by God's Providence ingaged together to make a plantation, at and over against *Agaam* on Conecticot doe mutually agree to certayne articles and orders to be observed and kept by us and our successors, excpt wee and every of us, for ourselves and in oure persons, shall think meet uppon better reasons to alter our present resolutions.

"1ly. Wee intend, by God's grace, as soon as we can, with all convenient speede, to procure some Godly and faithfull minister, with whome we propose to joyne in church covenant, to walk in all the ways of Christ.

2ly. Wee intend that oure towne shall be composed of fourty family's, or if wee think meete after, to alter our purpose; yet not to exceed the number of fifty family's, rich and poore.

"3ly. That every inhabitant shall have a convenient proportion for a house lott, as wee shall see meete for every ones quality and estate.

4ly. That every one, that hath a house lott, shall have a proportion of the Cow pasture to the north of End Brooke, lying northward from the towne; and also that every one shall have a share of the *hasseky marish* over against his lott, if it be to be had, and every one to have his proportionable share of all the woodland.

"5ly. That every one, shall have a share of the meddow, or planting ground, over against him, as nigh as may be, on Agaam side.

"6ly. That the Long meddowe, called Masacksick, lying in the way to Dorchester, [Windsor, Ct.,] shall be distributed to every man, as wee shall think meete, excpt wee shall find other conveniences, for some for theyre milch cattayle, and other cattayle also.

"7ly. That the meddowe and pasture called *Nayas*, towards Patuckett, on ye side of Agaam, lyeinge about fourer miles above in the ridge shall be distributed" [erasure of six and a half lines,] "as above said in the former order, and this was altered and with consent before the hands were set to it.

"8ly. That all rates that shall arise upon this towne, shall be layed upon lands, according to every ones proportion, aker for aker, of house lotts, and aker for aker of meddowe, both alike on this side, and both alike on the other side; and for farmes, that shall lye farther off, a less proportion, as wee shall after agree except wee shall see meete to remitt one half of the rate from land to other estate.

"9ly. That whereas Mr. William Pynchon, Jehue Burr, and Henry Smith, have constantly continued to prosecute the same, at greate charges, and at greate personal adventure, therefore it is mutually agreed, that fourty akers of meddowe, lying on the south of End Brooke, under a hill side, shall belong to the said partys free from all charges forever. That is to say twenty akers, to Mr. William Pynchon, and his heyres and assigns for ever, and ten akers to Jehue Burr, and ten akers to Henry Smith, and to their heyres and assigns for ever; which said fourty akers is not disposed to them as any allotment of towne lands; but they are to have their accommodations in all other places notwithstanding.

"10ly. That whereas a house was built at a common charge which cost £6 and also the Indians demand a grate some, to bye their right, in the sayd lands, and also a greate shallope, which was requisite for the first planting, the value of which engagements, is to be borne by each inhabitant, at theyre first entrance, as they shall be rated by us till the said disbursements shall be satisfyed, or else in case the said house and boat be not so satisfyed for; then so much meddowe to be sett out about the said house as may counter vayle the sayd extraordinary charge.

"11ly. It is agreed that no man except Mr. William Pynchon shall have above ten akers for his house lott.

"12ly. Annulled.

"13ly. Whereas there are two cowe pastures, the one lying towards Dorchester, and the other Northward from End Brooke. It is agreed that both these pastures shall not be fed at once; but that the time shall be ordered by us, in disposing of it for tymes and seasons, till it be lotted out and fenced in severalty.

"14ly. May 16, 1636.—It is agreed that after this day, wee shall observe this rule, about dividing of planting ground and meddowe, in all planting ground, to regard chiefly, persons who are most apt to use such ground. And in all meddowe and pasture, to regard chiefly cattel and estate, because estate is like to be improved in cattel, and such ground is aptest for their use. An yet wee agree that no person, that is master of a lott, though he hath not cattel, shall have less than three akers of planting ground, and none that have cowes, steeres, or year olds, shall have under one aker apiece, and all horses not less than four akers, and this order in dividing meddowe by cattel, to take place the last of May next, so that all cattayle that then appeare, and all estates that shall then truly appeare at £20, a cowe shall have this proportion in the meddowe, on the Agawam side, and in the large meddowe Masacksick, and in the other long meddowe called Nayas, and in the pasture at the north end of the towne called End Brooke.

"15ly. It is ordered that for the disposinge of the hasseky marish and the granting of home lotts, these five men under-named, or theyre Deputyes are appointed to have full power, namely Mr. Pynchon, Mr. Michell, Jehue Burr, William Blake, Henry Smith.

"It is ordered that William Blake shall have sixteen polle in bredth for his home lott and all the marish in bredth abuttinge at the end of it to the next highland, and three ackers more in some other place.

"Next the lott of William Blake northward lys the lott of Thomas Woodford, being twelve polles broade and all the marish before it to the upland. Next the lott of Thomas Woodford, lys the lott of Thomas Ufford, beinge fourteen rod broade, and all the marish before it to the upland. Next the lott of Thomas Ufford, lys the lott of Henry Smith, being twenty rods in breadth and all the marish before it, and to run up in the upland on the other side to make up his upland lott ten akers.

"Next the lott of Henry Smith lyes the lott of Jehue Burr, being twenty rods in bredth and all the marish in bredth abbuttinge at the end of it, and as much upland ground on the other side as shall make up his lott ten akers. Next the lott of Jehue Burr, lys the lott of Mr. William Pynchon, beinge thirty rod in bredth and all the marish at the east end of it and an addition at the further end of as much marish as shall make the whole twenty four akers; and as much upland adjoining as makes the former howse lott thirty akers, in all together fifty-foure akers.

"Next the lott of Mr. Pynchon lys the lott of John Cabel fourteene rod in bredth and four akers and halfe of marish at the end of the lott. Next the lott of John Cabel, lys the lott of John Reader, beinge twelve rod in bredth, and four akers and halfe of marish at the forend of his homelott.

"The lotts of Mr. Matthew Mitchell, Samuel Butterfield, Edmund Wood, and James Wood, are ordered to lye, adjoining to mill brooke, the whole being to the number of twenty-five akers, to begin three of them, on the greate river and the fourthe on the other side of the same river.

"It is ordered that for all highways that shall be thought necessary by the five men above named, they shall have liberty and power, to lay them out when they shall see meete, though it be at the end of mens lotts, giving them allowance for so much ground.

"We testifie to the order above said, being all of the first adventurers and undertakers for this Plantation.

"William Pynchon, Nath. Michell, Henry Smith, The mark *I*—of Jehue Burr, William Blake, Edmund Wood, The mark *T* of Thomas Ufford, John Cabel."

The absorbing and controlling character of the religious faith of these men is witnessed in the opening terms of their agreement. They were by "God's Providence ingaged together to make a plantation," and by the very first article of their covenant they intended "by God's grace to procure some godly and faithful minister," with whom to join in church covenant, "to walk in all the ways of Christ." The allotments of land were divided by lines running from the river to and upon the Hill, each containing a home-lot bordering the river, each a portion of the "hasseky marish," or meadow, lying between the home-lots and the hill, while the latter constituted the wood-lots. Of the immediate action of the settlers, in the erection of their dwellings, there is no record. It was the season for planting, and, doubtless, the labor of the field was mingled with the arrangement for temporary shelter. Before another Winter arrived, they were housed. Probably no framed dwellings were put up during the season, but the first one erected was by Mr. Pynchon, and the facts of his wealth and importance favor the presumption that it was built at an early date in the settlement.

It is a singular fact, in the history of the early settlement of the Connecticut Valley, that not one of the twelve, to whom were made the original allotments of land in Springfield, died there. Blake, Ufford, Mitchell, the two Woods, Reader, Butterfield and Cable, (or Cabel) gave up or sold their allotments to the company. Burr remained but a short time, and then removed to Connecticut. Pynchon and Smith died in England, as will hereafter be more particularly noticed. The original allotments being so universally broken up, the actual settlement was made on a different basis. The lots, running as before, were reduced in width, and the necessity of limiting the population to "fifty families, rich and poore," was obviated. Allotments were also made on the West side of the river to each man, as nearly opposite as possible to his lot on the East side. Immediately after the allotments were made, other settlers arrived, though probably in no considerable numbers, and then, as a measure of security to themselves and of justice to the Indians, who held from Nature their unwritten title to the lands in occupation, they set about a formal purchase of the same. The deed conveying these lands was the first ever executed in Western Massachusetts, and is now on record at the Registry of Deeds in Hampden County. It conveys the lands on both sides of the river to "William Pynchon Esq., Mr. Henry Smith, (his son-in-law,) and Jehu Burr, and their heirs and associates." It is as follows:

"AGUAM, *alias* AGAWAM: this fifteenth day of July, 1636.

"It is agreed between Commucke and Matanchan, ancient Indians of Aguam, for and in the name of all the other Indians, and in particular for and in ye name of Cuttonas, the right owner of Aguam & Quana, and in the name of his mother Kewenusk, the Tamasham or wife of Wenawis, & Niarum, the wife of Coa, to and With William Pynchon, Henry Smith and Jehu Burr, their heirs and associates forever, to trucke and sel al that ground and muckeosquittaj or medow Accomsick, viz: on the other side of Quana; & al the ground & muckeosquittaj on the side of Aguam, except Cottinackeesh, or ground that is now planted, for ten fathom of Wampum, Ten Coates, Ten howes, Ten hatchets and Ten knifes; and also the said ancient Indians, with the consent of the rest, and in particular with the consent of Plenis & Wrutherna & Napompenam—do trucke and sel to William Pynchon, Henry Smith and Jehu Burr and their successors forever, al that ground on the East side of Quinnecticot River called Vsquaiok & Nayasset, reaching about four or five miles in length from the North end of Massaksicke up to Chickuppe River for four fathom of Wampum, four coates, four Howes, four hatchets, four knifes: also the said ancient Indians doe with the consent of the other Indians, & in particular with the consent of Machetuhood, Wenepawin & Mohemoos, trucke and sel the ground & muckeosquittaj & grounds adjoining, called Masacksicke, for four fathom of wampum, four coates, four hatchets & four howes & four knifes.

"And the said Pynchon hath in hand paid the said eighteen fathom of Wampum, eighteen coates, 18 hatchets, 18 howes, 18 knifes, to the said Commucke & Matanchan, & doth further condition with the s'd Indians that they shal have & enjoy all that Cottinackeesh, or ground that is now planted; And have liberty to take Fish and Deer, ground-nuts, walnuts, akornes & Sasachimosh, or a kind of pease. And also if any ye cattle spoile their corne, to pay as it is worth; & that hogs shall not goe on the side of Aguam but in akorne time: Also the said Pynchon doth give to Wrutherna two coates over and above the said particulars expressed, and in Witness hereof the two said Indians & the rest, doe set to their hands, this present 15th Day of July, 1636."

This deed is signed by thirteen Indians by their "markes," which present a great variety of designs. The names are as follow: Menis, Kemic, Messai, *alias* Nepinam, Winnepawin, Machetuhood, Commuk, Macossak, Wenawis, Cuttonus, Matanchan, Wrutherna, Coa: Kokuinek. The witnesses to this deed are John Allen, Joseph Parsons, Richard Everet, Thomas Horton, Faithful Thayeler, John Cownes and A. Haughton. Everet, Cownes and Haughton made their marks. It will be noticed that not one of the witnesses to the signatures of this deed were among those who received the original allotments, thus demonstrating the accession to the number of settlers, who, probably, took the place of the majority of the first company, of whose stay for any considerable length of time there is no evidence. The land designated in the deed as *Quana* is the middle meadow, adjoining Agawam meadow. *Usquaiok* is Mill River and the lands adjoining it. *Nayasset* is "the three corner meadow and land adjoining, extending Northerly to Chicopee River." *Massaksicke* is the "long meadow," and now bears the latter name as a town.

In the excitements and perplexities of an early settlement, the people did not forget the leading purpose of their lives. In 1637, the year following the settlement, they secured the services of Rev. George Moxon, and under him was formed a church, although a meeting house was not commenced until nine years later. Of Mr Moxon we have no description, further than that he had received Episcopal ordination in England, though Johnson, in his "Wonder-working-Providence," touches poetically upon his personal characteristics, in the following lines, commencing a hortatory apostrophe:

"As thou with strong and able parts art made,
Thy person stout, with toyl and labor shall,
With help of Christ, through difficulties wade," &c.

In 1637, Mr. Moxon was made a freeman at Boston, and the next year he was appointed a deputy to go to Hartford, Agawam uniting in jurisdiction with the settlements in Connecticut, for two or three years, until it was ascertained that the plantation was, without doubt, within the boundaries of the Massachusetts patent. In 1639, a house was built for him by a voluntary assessment, and he enjoyed a salary, at first, of forty pounds a year. Whether he was "passing rich" on that sum, is doubtful.

In 1637, occurred the first of a series of difficulties with the Indians that, in long subsequent years, resulted in the destruction or banishment of all the tribes on the Connecticut River. In the South-Eastern part of Connecticut, lived the Pequots, a chivalrous and daring tribe, under Sassacus, a fearless and implacable chief. Not participating in the friendly feelings which the Connecticut River Indians exhibited towards the settlers, he looked upon them as intruders, and, stimulated by difficulties he had already encountered from the authorities in Eastern Massachusetts, he determined to drive every white settler from the Connecticut. The first hostilities were made in the vicinity of the English fort at Saybrook, at the mouth of the river, where they killed stragglers and kept the garrison in a constant state of alarm. In the Spring of 1637, a demonstration occurred further up the river, at Wethersfield, where nine men, going to work in the fields, were killed, and two women taken prisoners. The Connecticut settlers then went into active preparation for war, and, with a force of ninety men, and a large number of Indian allies, the ever memorable expedition against the Pequots was made under Capt. Mason of Windsor. The Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies ordered 250 men to be raised for their assistance, but they did not arrive upon the ground in time for the first decisive action. It was a movement of immense moment to the settlers, for on its issue depended their future destiny. With an intrepidity far beyond that of their Indian allies, who forsook them as they entered the Pequot country, the daring little band penetrated to their fort on the Mystic River, and, on the morning of the 27th of May, surprised them. In one short hour the whole encampment within the fort was a heap of smoking ruins, and five or six hundred Pequots—men, women and children—were shot, hewn down, or burnt to death. It was one of the most terrible scenes ever enacted in border warfare. The loss on the English side was but trifling, only two men having been killed. The expedition achieved a safe return, and on arriving at their plantations, were received with every possible demonstration of joy. Dr. Trumbull says that "every family and every worshipping assembly spake the language of praise and thanksgiving."

Agawam was assessed with the towns in Connecticut for its portion of the expenses of the Pequot war, to the amount of £86 16s., and required to furnish seven men. Beyond the statement of Trumbull, to the effect that Agawam did not furnish the troops, but paid the assessment, there is not a particle of evidence that either men or money were furnished. The Springfield records make no allusion to the fact whatever. The Winter following the expedition was long and severe, and the diversion of such a number of men, and such an amount of attention, from the duties of the field, so reduced the aggregate of production that all the towns upon the river were in want. Mr. Pynchon was applied to for assistance, but unsuccessfully, he being neither able to furnish it from the Agawam plantation nor from the Indians. Famine stared them in the face, and as Spring opened, Capt. Mason, with two companions, set off in search of food, and proved himself as efficient in commerce as in war. Passing up the Connecticut as far as Pocomtuck, (now Deerfield,) he there succeeded in purchasing of the friendly Indians a large amount of corn, to be delivered at the plantations. Such a fleet the waters of the Connecticut never bore before—shall never bear again. A fleet of fifty canoes, each laden with corn, and propelled by the red man's oar, passed down the silent stream. It was a scene for the painter, as those crouching forms bent to their labor, leaving behind them long lines of thread-like wake, or paused upon their oars to exchange salutations with, and explain their errand to, their dusky brethren, who, with curiosity or apprehension, gathered here and there upon the banks. They all arrived at their destination, and the joy with which they were received by the half-starved settlers in Connecticut may easily be imagined.

Incidental allusion has been made to the political connection of the settlement at Agawam with the new plantations on the Connecticut, below. All these settlements—Wethersfield, Hartford, Windsor and Agawam—being far from the Colonial seat of Government, were united under a joint commission, and at a Court holden at Hartford, in November, 1636, Mr. Pynchon was present among the magistrates. Mr. Pynchon was also present at the Court in 1637, and, in the following year, Rev. George Moxon and Jehu Burr were appointed "Committys for the general Court to be holden at Hartford." This was the last that Agawam had to do with the settlements in Connecticut. On the 14th of February, 1638, the Agawam settlers had become satisfied that they were within Massachusetts, and being without any government, they came to a voluntary agreement, and chose Wm. Pynchon to be their magistrate. This agreement occupies the second page of the Pynchon Book of Records, in Mr. Pynchon's hand writing. The book is still extant, and in good preservation; and the penmanship, though ancient in style, is of the best execution. The document follows:

"*February the* 14*th*, 1638.—Wee the inhabitants of Aguam, uppon the Quinnectticot, taking into consideration the manifould inconveniences that may fall uppon us for want of some fit magistracy among us: Beinge nowe by God's Providence fallen into the line of the Massachusette jurisdiction; and it being farr of to repayre thither in such cases of iustice as may often fall out among us, doe therefore thinke it meett, by a generall consent and vote, to ordaine (till we receive further directions from the General Court in the Massachusett Bay) Mr. Wm. Pynchon to execute the office of a magistrate in this our plantation of Aguam, viz: to give oaths to constables or military officers, to direct warrants, both processes, executions and attachments, to heare and examine misdemenors, to depose witnesses and upon proof of misdemenor to inflict corporal punishment as whipping, stockinge, byndinge to the peace or good behavior, and in some cases to require sureties, and, if the offence require it, to commit to prison, and in default of a common prison, to commit delinquents to the charge of some fit person or persons till iustice may be satisfied. Also in the tryall of actions, for debt or trespass, to give oaths, direct juries, depose witnesses, take verdicts, and keep records of verdicts, judgments and executions, and whatever else may tend to the kinge peace, and the manifestation of our fidelity to the Bay jurisdiction, and the restraining of any that violate God's laws, or lastly, whatever else may fall within the power of an assistant in the Massachusett.

"It is also agreed uppon by a mutuall consent that in case any action of dett or trespasse to be tryed, seeing a jury of twelve fit persons cannot be had at present among us, that six persons shall be esteemed a good and sufficient jury to try any action under the sum of ten pounds, till we see cause to the contrary, and by common consent shall alter this number of jurors, or shall be otherwise directed by the general court in the Massachusetts."

The General Court subsequently approved of these proceedings, and confirmed Mr. Pynchon in his office. Mr. Pynchon, who, previous to his removal from Roxbury, had been Treasurer of the Colony, and a magistrate during his residence there, was re-chosen assistant in 1643, a position which he held by annual election until 1650.

The settlement at Agawam was now more alone and self-dependent than ever, but it had become stronger also, and had given evidence of the wisdom of its councils by the admirable act which has been recorded. On the 14th of April, 1640, the inhabitants, being assembled in general town meeting, changed the name of their plantation from Agawam to Springfield, as a compliment to Mr. Pynchon, who resided in a town of that name before his removal from England; though the common idea, that the new name originated in the plentifulness of springs with which the place was favored, is a natural one. The date of its incorporation, as a town, is not known. In fact, it is doubtful whether it was ever incorporated. Felt, in his "Statistics," says that the common date of its incorporation was March, 1645. There is nothing upon the records to indicate this year, and the whole matter is left in uncertainty. The place was recognized in the General Court as a town by the name of Springfield, in 1641, and if any formalities equivalent to incorporation were had in the case, it was doubtless previous to that time,—or between that time and the town vote alluded to. About this time, the people of Connecticut purchased Woronoco, embracing probably all of the present town of Westfield, and begun a plantation there. Holmes says that Governor Hopkins of Connecticut erected a trading house there, and had considerable interest in the plantation. It was claimed as being within the patent of Connecticut, and the claim in subsequent years gave rise to a long and bitter controversy, the Massachusetts General Court, in 1647, ordering Woronoco, including portions of the towns of Suffield, Westfield and Southwick, "to be a part of the town of Springfield, and liable to pay charges there."

The people of young Springfield were not without subjects of excitement. In 1635, John Winthrop, son of the

Governor of Massachusetts, arrived from England, bringing a commission from Lord Say and Lord Brook and others, to be Governor in Connecticut. He brought with him the armament of a fort, and £2,000 sterling to build it with. This fort, of which incidental mention has already been made, was built, and named Saybrook Fort, after Lords Say and Brook. This interfered with the possessions of the Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford settlers from Massachusetts Bay, but, for the sake of peace, they were not disturbed. They were, however, with Springfield, laid under contributions for the support of the fort, all vessels passing up the river being required to pay toll. The settlers in Connecticut who, perhaps, had some apprehensions that they might be disturbed in their possessions, if they refused, paid the toll. Springfield would do no such thing; and out of this refusal grew the most serious controversy that ever occurred between the two Colonies. The Connecticut authorities becoming determined to enforce payment, Springfield appealed for protection to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, and the General Court sided with them, and assumed their quarrel. During a series of years, the Connecticut settlements on the river had governed themselves independently of the Saybrook government, and when, in 1644, they purchased the fort, they purchased with it the claim against Springfield for the tolls that had accrued, and presented it for liquidation. This claim was long the subject of discussion by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and when, at last, the Commissioners (those of Massachusetts not acting) decided that the claim was just, Springfield again refused payment. Then Massachusetts, as a measure of retaliation, or for the purpose of giving a practical demonstration of the injustice of the claim, tried the toll system upon all vessels of the colonies entering the harbor of Boston. This measure created immense disturbance, and came near breaking up the union of the colonies. But common danger heals many difficulties, as it did in this case. More serious matters attracted attention, and the claim of Connecticut upon the town of Springfield, somewhat the worse for the wear of two centuries, remains unadjusted to this day.

The boundaries of Springfield, indefinite from the first, were enlarged from time to time, until they included portions of Westfield and Southwick, the whole of West Springfield, the present territory of Springfield, Chicopee, Wilbraham, Ludlow and Longmeadow, and Enfield and Somers in Connecticut, all of which were, in the progress of settlement and growth, erected into separate towns. Enfield, Somers and Suffield were adjudged to belong to Connecticut by Commissioners appointed in 1713.

It is difficult to trace the course of justice during the magistracy of Mr. Pynchon, through the ancient glyphics contained in his book of records. He had a good many grievances to adjust, and no one seems to have been in hot water more frequently than "Jo. Woodcock," as he is styled. It will be remembered that he was engaged in the first case with Cable. Afterwards, Rev. Mr. Moxon complained of him for slander, Woodcock having accused the reverend gentleman of taking a false oath against him at Hartford. Mr. Moxon claimed £9 19s damages, and Woodcock being found guilty, £6 13s was awarded. We next find him engaged in a long and somewhat complicated suit, in which Henry Gregory was the party of the other part, and in which a "pigge" and a "hogge" played prominent accompaniments. Then John Woodcock commenced an action against Henry Gregory for slander. Two or three days after this, "John Searles, constable of Springfield," was required by the magistrate "to attach the body of John Woodcock, uppon an execution granted to Mr. George Moxon," the damages to whose reputation Woodcock had failed to satisfy, in accordance with the verdict of the jury. Following this up closely, Robert Ashley complained of John Woodcock for not delivering to him a "gunn," which the plaintiff had purchased of him, and for which he had paid 22s 6d. At the same time, Ashley complained that Woodcock had not broken up a piece of ground for him "according to bargaine." In short, John Woodcock had rather a lively time of it, and had the opportunity of proving that human nature, two centuries ago, was much the same as now. All or most of these cases were tried by a jury of six men.

Mr. Pynchon, who was alike the ruling spirit and the good genius of Springfield, was largely engaged in the beaver trade, and, besides his duties as magistrate, was occupied in all the concerns of the settlement. Notwithstanding this, he found time to write a book. It was a religious book, and in its fatal pages were contained the seeds of sorrow and disturbance; and in the movements that followed its publication, are strikingly exemplified the prominence given to religious doctrine by our well meaning ancestors, and the small estimate placed upon a consistent Christian life, when considered in connection with such doctrine. Those movements exhibit also the perfect identification of church and State that then existed. The union of religion and government was something more than the union of individual systems—it was an interfusion of law and gospel, covenant and constitution, church and chancery, magistracy and ministry. Mr. Pynchon, though strict in the discharge of his magisterial, social and Christian duties, gave utterance in his book to some opinions that were not considered orthodox by the authorities of Massachusetts Bay. The book was published in England, and in the Summer of 1650, copies were received in Boston, where they gave rise to the strongest feeling. Endicott was then Governor of the Colony, and Dudley was his second in authority. They were men of ultra soundness of faith, and, with the other leading men of the colony, denounced the doctrines of the book as heretical. The clergy unitedly joined their denunciations, and declared the work to be calculated to subvert the faith of the churches. The General Court took fire under this alarming state of things, and summoned the old man who had dared to think, and publish what he thought, before them, to answer for his crime. He was deposed from the magistracy by that august body, and Mr. Norton of Ipswich was appointed to write an answer to the book; and then, still further to carry out their ends, they ordered the book to be publicly burnt in Boston Market, and the sentence was fully executed! Cotton Mather, in his account of the life of John Norton, does not call Mr. Pynchon by name, but speaks of him as "a gentleman of New England who had written a book, entitled *The Meritorious price of Man's Redemption*, wherein he attempts to prove that Christ suffered not for us those unutterable torments of God's wrath which are commonly called hell-torments, to redeem our souls from them; and that Christ bore not our sins by God's imputation, and therefore also did not bear the curse of the law for them." This gives the subject and the drift of Mr. Pynchon's book.

The General Court were not content with the humiliation they had visited upon the daring book-maker, in deposing him from his office, and by the aid of John Norton and fire, annihilating his book; but they earnestly requested the ministers to labor with him, for the purpose of convincing him of his error, and of bringing him to the act of its recantation. The effect of this public condemnation and humiliation, and the labors of the divines could not but have an effect upon the conscientious mind of Pynchon; and, whether convinced against his will or otherwise, it is recorded that the zealots accomplished their end, and that he recanted. It is impossible, at this time, to look back upon such proceedings with any degree of complacency. They cannot but be regarded as the veriest exhibitions of tyrannical bigotry. Here was a man who had left home and friends for the sake of enjoying his religion, had been among the foremost in the councils of the colony, had planted two settlements—the last one in the midst of the wilderness—had borne more than his share in the dangers, toils and responsibilities of the Massachusetts colony, and had, through all, maintained a Christian character secure beyond the charge of inconsistency or taint, cut off from influence and power, publicly condemned and publicly insulted, for giving utterance to a doctrine in religion at variance in nice points with the doctrines generally held by the churches and the General Court. Though Mr. Pynchon recanted, it is not to be doubted that these facts and considerations weighed upon his mind in all their injustice, and influenced him in his decision to return to England, and there spend the remainder of his days—a decision which he carried into effect in 1652. This lesson of intolerance, drawn from the history of the fathers of the State, should be improved by their descendents. Uneducated conscience and conscientious ignorance are the only apology that can be offered for those who thus trampled upon the very liberty for the acquisition and enjoyment of which they had planted themselves in the wilderness.

That Mr. Pynchon was convinced of his alleged errors against his will, and that one of his motives for returning to England was that he might enjoy that freedom of religious opinion denied him here, is evident from his subsequent action. In 1655, his book was issued in a new edition in London, by Thomas Newberry, with additions, in which Mr. Norton's book was dissected "by William Pynchon Esq., late of New England." The venerable controversialist endeavored in his new edition to "clear several Scriptures of the greatest note in these controversies from Mr. Norton's corrupt exposition," and fully reiterated all his former opinions. This book is very elaborate, covering 440 pages quarto—a favorite form in those days—and its leading doctrine, as stated on its title page, and as given by Cotton Mather, is one which has been universally adopted by the orthodox Christianity of later days. The writer's sin consisted in being in advance of his age—happily one of those sins which posterity does not consider damnable beyond forgiveness. This antiquated volume, in a most honorable binding, now reposes in the Harvard College library, and pasted upon the inner side of the cover are the following words: "*Ex Dono Reverendi Edvardi Holyoke Præsidis Pronepotis Materni, Authoris* 1764–69." The donor was a descendent of Elizur Holyoke and of Mr. Pynchon, the former of whom, very probably, once owned the book, for, by the side of it, in the same style of printing and binding, is another work by William Pynchon, on "the Sabbath," containing "*Elizur Holyoke, his book*," in his own excellent hand writing. This book was presented by the donor of the other. The second book covers nearly 300 pages, and both show the author to have been a good writer and a very able theologian. One of the doctrines put forward by Mr. Pynchon in regard to the Sabbath, is, "that the Lord's day doth begin with the natural morning, and that the morning of the natural day doth begin at midnight, and so consequently that the Lord's Day must begin both with the natural morning at midnight, and end with the natural evening at midnight." In this he was even in advance of many of the later dwellers of the Valley, who to this day observe Saturday night as holy time.

Mr. Pynchon was accompanied on his return to England by Mr. Moxon, the minister at Springfield, and by his son-in-law, Henry Smith, who had, in the meantime, been appointed to the magistracy in Pynchon's stead. Neither of the three ever returned to America. The causes of Mr. Moxon's removal are not known, but they were doubtless connected, in some measure, with Mr. Pynchon's adversities. It has been conjectured by some that he sympathized with Mr. Pynchon's views, and was either disgusted or alarmed at the treatment he had received. That these two men were on the most intimate terms, is presumable from their position—the one the leader in civil matters, the other in religious. That the book was written without Mr. Moxon's knowledge is not probable. That it was sent off for publication under his condemnation, is not likely. But another cause for his removal has been assigned, which carries upon its face a strong look of probability, and which renders it necessary to return to somewhat earlier history.

Springfield, the first of all the towns of New England, was visited by witchcraft. This occurred sometime during the year 1645. The minister's family was, very naturally, the object of the Devil's malice, and, accordingly, Mr. Moxon's children were "affected mysteriously by an unseen hand." At that time, and in New England, almost everybody believed in witchcraft, for the bigotry that produces intolerance is the hot-bed of superstition. This case of witchcraft was, of course, the constant theme of gossip and speculation, and undoubtedly—for it was in accordance with the spirit of the times—of public and private prayer. It made an uncomfortable and suspicious neighborhood. Friends suspected each other of having made a league with the devil, and of tormenting the children. These children were in a miserable plight. They were distressed with fits, and all those torments which characterized the subsequent operations of witches in the Eastern part of the colony, and which are connected with the blackest and bloodiest page in the annals of New England delusions. The case must have been sowing its poison in the settlement for some years when, according to the Pynchon Record Book, "the widdow Marshfield complained against Mary H., wife of Hugh Parsons of Springfield, for reporting her to be suspected for a witch, and she produced Jo. Matthews and his wife for her witnesses." Goody Parsons had her trial for this singular slander, was found guilty, and sentenced to be "well whipped with 20 lashes by the Constable." This Goody Parsons was a poor, nervous creature, and subject to fits of insanity, and may have been instigated to make the report against Mrs. Marshfield, from finding suspicion directed against herself; for subsequently, certainly, if not before, she was publicly charged with afflicting Mr. Moxon's children. In March, 1651, while in a state of partial insanity, she murdered her infant child, and this was enough, in the minds of the people of the town, to confirm all their suspicions. The unfortunate creature was arrested, conveyed to Boston, and imprisoned to await her trial on the double charge of witchcraft and murder.

Previous to this, one poor woman, Margaret Jones of Charlestown, had been tried for witchcraft, and executed. Goody Parsons, on arriving at Boston, was found to be so very sick that it was feared she would die in prison, yet, notwithstanding this, she was brought into Court then in session, and arraigned on the charge of having "made a league with a familiar spirit to hurt Martha and Rebekah Moxon." It is a pleasure to record that she had the sense beyond some of the victims of her times, to plead not guilty, and that she was acquitted. She plead guilty to the charge of murdering her child, and received sentence of death. Probably on account of her sickness, her execution was postponed to the last of May, and she doubtless died in prison, as no further mention is made of her. But this did not put an end to the matter. Hugh Parsons, her husband, after all the trials arising from the infirmities of his wife, and her sad end, was himself charged with witchcraft in the following year, and found guilty by the jury before which he was tried. The magistrate did not consent to the verdict, and the matter being brought before the General Court, that body found that he was "not legally guilty," and discharged him.

It is not strange that Mr. Moxon, in view of the departure of Mr. Pynchon, and with a pair of bewitched children on his hands, whose tormentors he was not able to bring to justice, should conclude to leave the country, and return to his home. His determination having been made known, the town purchased his real estate, and appropriated it for the use of the ministry. Mr. Moxon lived in England until 1687, when he died, out of the ministry, and in poverty. With him and his children witchcraft departed from Springfield. Mr. Pynchon died in England, Oct. 29th, 1661, at the age of 72 years, having survived his return but about nine years; but his memory will be held in high honor here on the ground of his old trials, and the theater of his efforts, where he won from wild men and the wilderness the beautiful region of the Connecticut Valley. He left behind him in this country four children—John Pynchon, who was destined to play even a more important part in the history of Western Massachusetts than his father, the wife of Henry Smith; Mary, the wife of Capt. Elizur Holyoke, and Margaret, the wife of William Davis of Boston, who the very year that his father-in-law returned to England, was elected, though a non-resident, as a deputy to represent Springfield in the General Court. He was repeatedly elected to the same office in after years, as were also John Pynchon, Henry Smith and Elizur Holyoke, and thus did Springfield honor the old man in the persons of his children.

And now, the affairs of the still tender settlement opened under new auspices. On the departure of Pynchon and Smith for England, the General Court appointed John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel Chapin—the latter being "the ancestor of all of that name in New England"—as a board of magistracy in Springfield. This board remained without modification of constituents or authority until, in 1658, further settlements on the river had made a change necessary. A copy of the Commission issued to these gentlemen is preserved in the Pynchon Book of Records, as also a copy of their oath, in which they "swear by ye Living God that they will truly endeavor to their best abilitys, in the place, according to the laws of God and this Commonwealth." The Commission gave them authority to govern the inhabitants of Springfield, and to hear and determine all cases, both civil and criminal, "that reach not to life, limbs or banishment." This board introduced system into its operations, and assumed the dignity of an important legal tribunal. The first Thursday in March and the first in September were appointed as regular Court days. The first cases considered by this board will show somewhat the nature and spirit of the regulations and laws which prevailed. Reice Bedortha and Benja. Mun were presented by Richard Sikes, the town "presenter," "ffor taking of tobacco on (each) his hay-cock."

It seems that the fees of the presenter, and his incentive to diligence, consisted of half of whatever fines should be imposed in cases of conviction. In these cases, he released his proportion, and they were let off with a proportionately small fine. Margarite Joanes was fined five shillings for the breach of a town order. Deacon Chapin and Widow Bliss, with others, were fined one shilling each for a breach of town orders. In 1654, we come to the record of more serious cases. One Samuel Wright Jr., was charged with the paternity of Mary Burt's illegitimate child, and being tried, was found guilty, by a full jury of twelve men. He was sentenced "for his evill behavior therein, to be whipped with 12 strypes on the naked body, well layd on, and to pay the charges of the Court, and towards the mayntenance of the said child to pay after the rate of one shilling four pence per week, making payment every month during the term of seaven yeares, and at the end of seaven yeares to pay fforty shillings towards the putting forth of the said child to be an apprentice." Mary Burt, also, "for her great wickedness," was "adjudged to be whipped on ye naked body with 12 stripes well laid on"—a very questionable way, certainly, of punishing a crime of that character. Poor Mary was sentenced to receive 20 stripes more for another offense of the same character, unless she should "redeem" her second whipping by the payment of thirty shillings, which she managed to do. But for the first crime, "she received her punishment."

The place vacated by Mr. Moxon was not readily filled, and for nine years the people were without a settled minister. For brief periods during this time, they enjoyed the ministrations respectively of Mr. Hosford, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Hooker, son of Rev. Thomas Hooker of Hartford, whom Cotton Mather denominates "the light of the Western churches." In the intervals of their labors, men were appointed by vote, in town meeting, from among their own number, to lead every Sabbath in public worship. Deacon Wright was voted fifty shillings per month for the service. Deacon Chapin, Mr. Holyoke and Henry Burt, also received payment for the performance of the same duty, and Mr. Pynchon occasionally instructed the people on the Sabbath, "sometimes by reading notes, and sometimes by his own meditations." In 1661, the inhabitants succeeded in procuring the permanent settlement of Rev. Pelatiah Glover, a man of fine talents, fine attainments, and ardent piety. His ministry was a long, and, in the end, a prosperous one. He remained in Springfield more than thirty years, and died March 29, 1692.

The incongruity of the ancient method of calling congregations together on the Sabbath, with the spirit of the day, is noticeable. John Matthews was hired by a vote of the town to beat the drum half an hour before the commencement of the morning service, beating it all the way "from Mr. Moxon's to R. Stebbins' house," for which he was to receive 4d. in wampum, from each family, or its equivalent, a peck of Indian corn. How long this method of announcing the hour for the solemn assembly continued, does not appear, but it must have formed a unique sight and sound for Sabbath morning. In 1660, the famous "Pynchon House" was built by John Pynchon, and was the first brick structure in the Valley. This building, after surviving the perils of the Indian wars, and the changes of nearly two centuries, was torn down in 1831 by his descendants. Its picture is very appropriately preserved in the seal of the city of Springfield.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT OF NORTHAMPTON AND HADLEY—ERECTION OF HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

It is not to be supposed that the fertile bottom lands on the river North of Springfield remained unknown, or unappreciated. But population did not crowd, and adventure was in a degree satisfied with the fields already won. In 1653, Nonotuck, a territory embracing the present towns of Northampton, Southampton, Easthampton, Westhampton, and a part of Hatfield and Montgomery, was purchased of the Indians, and conveyed by the deed of Wawhillowa, Nenessahalant, Nassicohee and four other Indians, to John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel Chapin, the Commissioners of Springfield. The settlement was commenced in the following year, in the present town of Northampton, by twenty-one planters, principally from Springfield and Windsor. The ancestors of those in the several Hamptons who bear the names of Parsons, Wright, Stebbins, Burt, Bridgman, Edwards and Searle, were originally from Springfield. The original petition for liberty to plant and settle at Nonotuck was made by several planters who represented to the General Court that "it was a place suitable to erect a town for the furtherance of the public weal, and the propagating of the Gospel, and which promised, in an ordinary way of God's Providence, a comfortable subsistence whereby they might live and attend upon God in his holy ordinances without distraction." At the same time, the Springfield Commissioners presented a petition in aid of this, stating that there was tillable ground sufficient for two large plantations. They declared that they had no private ends to answer, but wished for liberty to erect the plantations, "so that the glory of God might be furthered, and the peace and happiness of the government not retarded."

Liberty to plant was granted, and the purchase made as stated. The territory sufficient for two large plantations, indicated in the petition of the Springfield Commissioners, embraced the land on the opposite side of the river from Northampton, now occupied by the town of Hadley. The General Court appointed a committee to lay out both plantations, but they reported when they had laid out but one. This embraced the great meadow on the west side of the river, and the little meadow "Capawonk," which they described as lying about two miles above. The length on the river was from the upper end of this little meadow, "to the great falls down towards Springfield." Westward from the river, the tract extended nine miles into the woods. Rev. Solomon Williams, in a sermon delivered at Northampton in 1815, mentions a tradition to the effect that as early as 1652, an English family settled in that town, on land which lies East of what is called Hawley-street, a locality which the later inhabitants have but recently come to regard as favorable for building spots, and where new streets have been opened and elegant dwellings erected. The entire price paid for this large and valuable tract was 100 fathom of wampum, (strings of beads made of shells and used by the Indians as money,) ten coats some small gifts, "and ploughing up sixteen acres of land on the East side of Quonnecticot river the ensuing Summer."

It is legitimately a matter of complacent reflection that, as in Northampton and Springfield, so in all the early settlements of New England, the right of the wild Indian to his wild lands was recognized, and was always extinguished by formal purchase. The price paid for the valuable lands on the Connecticut was small, or, rather, seems small to their present occupants and owners, but, when it is remembered that they were made valuable to the settlers only by patient cultivation, and that, with all the labor expended in cultivation and defense, the owners were extremely poor for many years, the price paid will appear to have been sufficiently large. Subsequent to the purchase of Nonotuck, the Sachem Umpanchela complained that he had not received his proportion of the proceeds, or, at least, as much as he expected, and the inhabitants immediately voted to satisfy him, and he executed a new deed of the township.

The inhabitants of Northampton elected what they denominated "townsmen" in 1655—one year after their settlement—officers answering to the present "selectmen," though probably clothed with somewhat more extended powers. The town was probably incorporated the year before. Springfield established and filled the same offices some nine years previously, and, by a vote of the town, their duties were "to direct in all the fundamental affairs of the towne, to prevent everything which they shall judge to be of damage to the towne, and to order anything which they shall judge to be for the good of the towne. Also, to hear complaints, to arbitrate controversies, to lay out highways, to see to the scouring of the ditches and to the killing of wolves, and to the training up of the children in their good ruling, or any other thing they shall judge to be to the profit of the towne."

By a mutual agreement, made by the purchasers of Nonotuck, in November, 1653, and, consequently, previous to the permanent settlement, all who should go there to settle should receive "every single man four acres of meadow, besides the rest of his division, and every head of a family six acres of meadow besides the rest of his division." It was further agreed that the territory should be allotted to the families according to their names, estates and qualifications. It was also provided that the twenty men who had paid for the land, and had borne its original charges, should be entitled, in the aggregate, to one fourth of the meadow, then estimated to be 800 acres. The home-lots granted to the original settlers were located almost entirely on what now are known as Pleasant, King, Market and Hawley streets. In the settlement at Nonotuck, as well as in that of Springfield, and, in fact, in all the early settlements of the region, great value was attached to meadow land, or interval. At that date, interval was esteemed to be the only land that possessed more than a nominal value. Particularly was this the case at Northampton, where meadow land abounded. Here, all other land was very lightly esteemed, and this high estimate of meadow land has been handed down from father to son, until the present day; and no considerable farmer now lives near the central portion of the town but is able to boast of his meadow lots. Grants of house and meadow lots were made to subsequent settlers, on condition that they would occupy and cultivate them for four years; and the fulfillment of this condition seems to have secured to its observers rights equal to those of the original settlers. The houses and barns built by the settlers were necessarily of logs, and their cultivation was of those open patches upon the meadow on which the Indians had planted their corn and beans.

In the latter part of 1654, measures were instituted, looking forward to the establishment of the Christian ministry, and for the meeting of Christian assemblies. This was at a time when the families probably did not exceed the number of twenty. William Holton, Joseph Lyman, Joseph Parsons, John Lyman and Edward Elmore contracted to build a meeting house, which was to be made of "sawen timber," 26 feet long and 18 feet wide, for the sum of 14 pounds sterling, to be paid in work or corn. The contract designated the 15th of April, 1655, as the time when the job was to be concluded. In this little edifice—meaner and more rude in its construction than any building now in the Valley—the fathers of the town held their solemn assemblies, offered up their united prayers, and put forth their stern views of doctrine. Here, after the toils of the week, in plain and carefully kept clothes, the saintly heads of families, with their closely trained and solemn-faced children, observed holy day. The imagination cannot but revert to those occasions, with an admiration toned down almost to holy reverence. There, in the midst of a silent wilderness, the voice of prayer arose. The curious Indian paused at the door, and was filled with awe as the white man addressed the Great Spirit. Far away from the busy haunts of men, they seemed, and felt nearer God—more alone with God—than ever before. With reverent joy they rejoiced in that blessed intimacy of communion, and drew from it the strength they needed for the trials and duties that formed the staple of their daily lives. There not being a time-piece in the settlement, some mode of calling worshipers together was rendered peculiarly necessary. Whether the instrument used was a drum, as in Springfield, or a more dignified instrument, is not known. It may be stated that Rev. Rufus Pomeroy of Otis now has in his possession a very large and sonorous "cow-bell," to which tradition assigns the honor of being the first instrument used in calling the settlers of Northampton to their worship. At a later date, Jedediah Strong had a salary of eighteen shillings a year "for blowing the trumpet." The purpose for which the trumpet was blown is not stated in the record, but it is presumed that this was the mode of announcing the hour of religious meetings. This house was occupied for the purposes for which it was designed, until about the year 1662, when a larger edifice was erected, capable of accommodating an enlarged population, and, in the following year, the old building was probably converted into a school house.

There was disagreement, even in a church after this ultra-primitive pattern. This disagreement afterwards proceeded so far that it was taken notice of by the General Court. The difference of opinion touched particularly the manner of conducting public worship, in the absence of a minister. The Court decided "that, though some private men may exercise their gifts, when there are such as are known, able, approved and orthodox; their best, safest, and most peaceable way was to assemble all at one place, and to spend their Sabbath together, besides praying and singing, in reading and repeating of known godly, orthodox books and sermons." But the people did not long remain without the regular ministrations of the Gospel. Their destitute case and their want of a minister were made known to the General Court, and the wish stated that Mr. Eleazer Mather of Dorchester, (the term "Reverend" was not much used in those days, and is often misapplied in the present,) might become their spiritual leader. The Court commended their condition to the reverend elders, and their assistance was solicited in the matter. This was at the May Court of 1658, and the Court subsequently "judged it meet to declare that, in case God so inclined the hearts of those who are concerned therein, and Mr. Mather go unto Northampton, to minister unto the inhabitants there in the things of God, they both approve thereof, and shall be ready at all times to encourage him in that service, as there shall be occasion, in whatsoever shall be rationally and meetly expected." Mr. Mather accordingly went to Northampton, and was ordained on the 18th of June, 1661, about a month previous to the vote of the town to build a new and more commodious meeting house. This gentleman, like a majority of the ministers of those days, was a man of learning. He was a graduate of Harvard College. Cotton Mather says of him: "As he was a very zealous preacher, and accordingly saw many seals of his ministry, so also was he a very pious walker; and as he grew near the end of his days, he grew so remarkably ripe for heaven, that many observing persons did prognosticate his being not far from his end." He died on the 24th of June, 1669, at the early age of 32; and, as Mather says that he labored at Northampton "eleven years in the vineyard of our Lord," it would appear that he preached there three years before his ordination, or, from the date of the action of the General Court concerning his settlement, already recorded. The new meeting house, built at an early date in his ministry, was erected near the site of the first one, on what was known as "Meeting House Hill," and the present large structure, now known as the "Old Church," is the fourth occupying the same locality.

At the May session of the General Court, 1655, and in answer to a petition of the inhabitants of Northampton, desiring the establishment of a Government among them, William Holton, Thomas Bascom and Edward Elmore were empowered to adjudicate all small causes, according to law, being previously required to take their oaths of office before Mr. Pynchon and Mr. Holyoke at Springfield. Just three years later, it was ordered that there should be two Courts held yearly by the Springfield and Northampton Commissioners, the Courts to be held alternately in each place. The Court thus constituted had power to determine "by jury or without, according to the liberty the law allows in County Courts, all civil actions not exceeding £20 damages, and all criminal cases not exceeding £5, or corporeal punishment not exceeding ten stripes, reserving appeals in all such cases to the County Court at Boston." The Court were also empowered to grant licenses for houses of public entertainment, and for the vending of wine, cider and ardent spirits, to administer the freeman's oath, to commit malefactors to prison, &c. Under this commission, the first Court was held at Northampton, Sept. 28, 1658. Any four of this united Commission were competent to hold a Court, and only Mr. Pynchon and Mr. Holyoke were present from Springfield at the first session. The next session was to be held at Springfield, and the

Northampton Commissioners—Mr. Holton, Arthur Williams and Richard Lyman—accompanied by four jurymen—the largest number that could be called from one place to another for service—presented themselves, by certificate of the Northampton constable, to be sworn. But it seems that the people of Northampton were not satisfied of the legal appointment of their Commissioners, and declared that they were not even freemen in accordance with the laws of this Commonwealth. And, as the Pynchon Record Book hath it, "therefore after the busyness was longe debated, the result was that there could be no Corte Legally kept here, without further orders from Superior Powers: and soe the Assembly brake up."

It is a matter of amusement to look over the knotty course of law in the cases that came before the authorities at this period. Frequent among the complaints brought forward was that of Sabbath breaking. Joseph Leonard was complained of for misbehaving himself on the Sabbath day, playing, sporting and laughing, &c. In this case, two witnesses testified that "last Sabbath day they saw Joseph Leonard sporting and laughing in sermon tyme, and that he did often formerly misbehave himselfe in the same way." Another swore, "that on that Ld's day was se'n-night, or Lord's day was fortnight, he saw Joseph Leonard come to Sam Harmon at the meeting house dore, and beate of his hat, and then ran away, and afterwards came to him again, and offered to kick at him, and run away, and then S. Harmon ran after him." A female witness had seen Joseph and Sam "whip and whisk one another with a stick before the meeting house, in sermon tyme." Joseph was accordingly found in debt to the law to the amount of five shillings. Daniel, a servant of Thomas Merrick, of Springfield, for "idle watching about, and not coming to the ordinances of the Lord," was adjudged to be worthy of stripes to the number of five, well laid on. Actions for slander were not unfrequent. Abusive or reproachful language was also a common cause of complaint, while card-playing and keeping a house where card-playing was allowed, were offenses punished with considerable fines. Entire chastity by no means prevailed among the early settlers, as the records prove; but offenses against this virtue were usually committed by the apprentices or servants—persons attached to all the New England colonies, who were without position or character. Still, these were not wholly in the blame. Robert Bartlett of Northampton, to whom the Springfield Commissioners were authorized to administer the constable's oath in 1655, was brought up the very next year for a shameful assault upon the wife of one Smith.

With the full complement of trials attached to an early settlement in the wilderness, the first years of civilized life in Northampton passed slowly away. The settlers secured their meeting house and their minister. Soon after the ordination of Mr. Mather, Mr. John Strong was appointed ruling elder of the church, and Mr. Joseph Elliot was elected to the office of teacher. The offices of *pastor* and *teacher* were kept distinct in many of the New England churches. The pastor's office was to administer a word of wisdom; the teacher's, a word of knowledge. The pastor exhorted to works of personal devotion and obedience, while the teacher expounded the weightier matters of doctrine. As in other places, so here, the distinction was not long maintained. Mr. Elliot was never ordained, although he assisted Mr. Mather for a year or two. Previous to 1659, upwards of forty planters had settled in the town, some of whom were acquainted with mechanical trades, but all relied principally upon husbandry for a livelihood. These, with the families belonging to them, made a population demanding no inconsiderable supplies. The distance from other and more advanced settlements was severely felt in hardships of many kinds. The settlers were, and felt themselves to be, very poor. They had no mill at which to grind their corn, and, with their slender means and conveniences, were obliged to build one. Their weak and impoverished condition was fully set forth in a petition to the General Court, to have their taxes remitted for some years, dated Oct. 17, 1659. The reasons given for asking this favor were—that they had, in consequence of their remote situation, been at heavy cost in getting supplies, that they had commenced to build a mill which had been a long time in building, had been very expensive, and was not then finished, that God in his providence had cut off the greater part of their crops by a dreadful storm, and that they had been at several public charges for the "settling of the ordinances" among them.

The first birth in Northampton occurred May 1, 1655. The name of the "native American" was Ebenezer Parsons. James Bridgman was the first person who died. His death occurred in the following January. David Burt and Mary Holton began life in the new settlement by getting married, on the 18th of November, 1654. Marriages, at that time, and for many years afterwards, were solemnized only by magistrates. These great events of birth, death and marriage, so common in large communities as to cause hardly a ripple on the surface of society, were in that young settlement matters to be talked about for days. The first child was doubtless received with a universal flutter of delight, and the reverent and grateful feelings of the mother found expression in the name bestowed upon her offspring. And when David Burt and Mary Holton held one another by the hand, in pledge of life-long love and companionship, were there no tears in view of the trials that surrounded them, and lay before? There was not a wild flower for the bride's hair, and very scanty and rude must have been the marriage feast. But when death first broke into the little band, and a grave was made in the wilderness, how sad and solemn must have been the scene! The rude coffin, by the door of a ruder cabin, was placed out in the calm, cold light of a Winter morning. The planters came one after another, with their wives and children, and looked their last upon the pale face of their companion. And when, after a fervent prayer from some patriarchal voice, the sleeper was borne off by a half worn path to the place of burial, on Meeting House Hill, what tears and sobs made strange notes among the shivering trees! To all the natural feelings that spring everywhere on such occasions, was added in these scenes that ever prevalent reference to the providence of God which distinguished the men of that time, and clothed even their errors and weaknesses with moral sublimity.

Northampton was named after Northampton in England—whether from the fact that some of the settlers were originally from that place, or because it was the northernmost town on the Connecticut, is not known. Possibly both facts had something to do with the matter. The manner in which the two prominent features in the landscape in the vicinity of Northampton, viz. Mount Holyoke and Mount Tom, received their names, is variously stated by tradition. The most probable, and, certainly, the most poetical, account, is to the effect that, some five or six years after the settlement of Springfield, a company of the planters went Northward to explore the country. One party, headed by Elizur Holyoke, went up on the East side of the river, and another, headed by Rowland Thomas, went up on the West side. The parties arriving abreast, at the narrow place in the river below Hockanum, at what is now called Rock Ferry, Holyoke and Thomas held a conversation with one another across the river, and each, then and there, gave his own name to the mountain at whose feet he stood. The name of Holyoke remains uncorrupted and without abbreviation, while Mount Thomas has been curtailed to simple and homely "Tom."

While the settlements on the Connecticut, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, were passing through their first stages of progress, their stronger neighbors below them found time to engage in a high religious controversy. The subject of division and quarrel was Baptism, with particular reference to the qualifications for receiving that ordinance, and church membership. Among those whose feelings were strongly implicated in this business were John Webster, the Governor of Connecticut, and Rev. John Russell of Wethersfield. For the sake of peace, they, with a number of respectable associates, determined on removing, and planting themselves anew. On the 18th of April, 1659, these individuals, to the number of sixty, "met at Goodman Ward's house in Hartford," and signed an agreement to remove from the jurisdiction of Connecticut, into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The fertile lands in the vicinity of Northampton had attracted their attention, and they had presented a petition to the Massachusetts General Court, representing their wishes, and asking for a grant of land. The Court acceded to their desires, and appointed Capt. Pynchon, Lieut. Holyoke and Deacon Chapin of Springfield, and William Holton and Richard Lyman of Northampton, "to lay out the bounds of the new plantation, on either or both sides of the river, as they shall see cause." This board attended to their duty with dispatch, and reported the bounds of the plantation as follows: "On the East side of the river their Southerly bounds to be from the head of the falls above Springfield, and so to run East and North the length of nine miles from the said river; and their Northerly bounds to be a little brook called by the Indians Nepasoanege, up to a mountain Quankwattchee, and so running Eastward from the river the same length of nine miles; from their Northerly bounds to their Southerly bounds on the river is about eleven or twelve miles. And on the West side of the river, their bounds on the South are to join or meet with Northampton bounds, (which said bounds of Northampton come to a little riverett running between two pieces of land called Capawonke and Wequittayyagg,) and on their North, their bounds to be a great mountain called Wequomps; and the North and South bounds are to run West two miles from the great river, and from North to South on that side the river is about six or seven miles."

The company in Connecticut having secured their grant, employed Capt. Pynchon to extinguish the Indian title to the lands they wished immediately to occupy. The purchase included a tract North of Mount Holyoke, about nine miles square. Mr. Pynchon also purchased for them Capawonke meadow, belonging to Northampton, on the West side of the river. This latter purchase comprised 800 acres, more or less, of rich bottom, in the present town of Hatfield, and the price to be paid for it was ten pounds sterling. There were certain conditions attached to the sale which were not fulfilled by the purchasers, and a deed was not given until March 11, 1659, when the price was increased to thirty pounds sterling, and this was the sum paid. The price given to the Indians for the land on the East side was two hundred and twenty fathom of wampum, and one large coat, "besides several gifts and other good causes and considerations." The land on the West side of the river, besides the tract purchased of Northampton, was bought of the Indians for three hundred fathom of wampum, and other small considerations. All this land was embraced under the general name of Nonotuck, or "Nolwotogg," as it is spelt in the deed. The Indian deed is dated Dec. 25, 1658—some months previous to the agreement to remove, made at Hartford. A considerable number went up to the new plantation in 1659, to make preparations for the general removal. Very few families removed that year, though there is evidence that one family, at least, lived there during the following winter. There were doubtless more than one. And thus were the preliminaries arranged for the settlement of Hadley. The territory enclosed within its bounds was very large, and included the present towns of Hadley, South Hadley, Granby, Amherst and Hatfield.

The projectors of the settlement at Hadley embraced a larger number of men of means and character, than were found in either Springfield or Northampton. Many, and, probably, the most of them, had been residents of the Connecticut settlements for a period of twenty years. They had prospered in worldly matters to a considerable degree, and possessed that experience in new settlements which enabled them to set about their enterprise with a perfect understanding of all their wants. Accordingly, in the agreement drawn up at Hartford, they decided that William Westwood, Richard Goodman, William Lewis, John White and Nathaniel Dickinson, should precede the removal of the settlers, lay out fifty-nine home-lots, allowing eight acres for every home-lot, and leaving a street twenty rods wide between the two Westernmost rows of home-lots. On the 9th of November, 1659, seven townsmen were chosen, those who had not removed as well as those who had, participating in the election. The names of the individuals chosen were William Westwood, Nathaniel Dickinson, Lemuel Smith, Thomas Studley, John White, Richard Goodman, and Nathaniel Ward. The men appointed to lay out the settlement attended to their duty, and the Old Hadley street of to-day bears the impress of their labors. The lots were laid out on either side of the "street twenty rods broad," which extended across the neck of the peninsula, formed by the bend of the river at that point. But all those who agreed to remove to the new settlement did not hold to their agreement. Only forty of them settled in Hadley; thirty-four of them took up their residence on the East side of the river, and six on the West. Thirteen persons, unnamed in the original agreement, joined the settlers on the East side, making in all forty-seven, and to them the allotments of home-lots were made.

The manner of apportioning the meadow lands was in this wise: a certain sum was placed against each settler's name, representing what was denominated his estate. This sum did not, in fact, represent his estate, but, in comparison with the sums set opposite the names of the others, designated the relative amount of land to which, from a variety of considerations, he was entitled. Thus, a young, unmarried and poor man received what was called a £40 lot, while a man of wealth and family, and who had probably borne a larger proportion of the charges, received a £200 lot. In fact, the settlers paid to Mr. Pynchon their proportion of the purchase money, as well as their taxes for several years, by rates based on the size of their lots respectively. The majority of the planters were from Hartford and Wethersfield, and a few of them came from Windsor. One only went over from Northampton, and he, probably, because he loved the daughter of William Westwood, whom he married. His name was Aaron Cook Jr. He received no home-lot, and lived with his father-in-law. No inconsiderable number of those who came from Connecticut were of those who, more than twenty years before, removed thither from Watertown, Cambridge and Dorchester, Mass., where they arrived from England. Some of them were gray with years, and counted their grand-children. The first settlers called the new plantation Newtown. This name was probably given by some of the old settlers of Cambridge, which place originally had the same name. It received the name of Hadley probably about the commencement of the year 1661—written *Hadleigh*, at first, after a town by the same name in Suffolk County, England—and, at the May term of the General Court in that year, it was ordered that Hadley should be its name. At the same time it was ordered "that for the better government of the people, and suppressing of sins there, some meet persons, annually presented by the freemen, shall be commissioned and empowered, * * * together with the Commissioners of Springfield and Northampton, or the greater part of them, to keep Courts appointed at Springfield and Northampton." They also had separate jurisdiction in a certain class of cases, with the reservation of a right of appeal to the Court at Springfield and Northampton. The first Commissioners of Hadley, under this order, were Andrew Bacon, Samuel Smith and Mr. William Westwood. They were directed to take their oath before Mr. Pynchon, who seemed to maintain for himself the eminence formerly occupied by his father, in all the early settlements of the Valley. Up to this date, and, in fact, during his life—through the long period when he was spoken of as the "Worshipful Major Pynchon"—no transactions of great importance were effected without his agency.

The name of Mr. Russell, the minister, has already been mentioned, as among the original signers of the agreement to remove from Wethersfield, and he was also among the earliest of the settlers. His appropriate ministrations doubtless commenced with his residence, and it is asserted that the church organized there was the second regularly organized in Western Massachusetts, the church at Northampton having no regular organization until 1661. Here Mr. Russell continued his pastoral labors for thirty-three years, proving himself a faithful and godly man. But neither the Commissioners of the General Court, nor the Commissioner of Heaven, could entirely "suppress sins" among the young people of Hadley; and we find in a vote passed by the town in 1671, more than ten years after both had commenced to exercise the duties of their vocation—that it was adjudged necessary, in order to preserve order in the sanctuary, that "there shall be some sticks set up in the meeting house in several places, with some fitt persons placed by them, and to use the same as occasion shall require, to keepe the youth from disorder." In December, of the year 1661, the town voted to build the structure which was the scene of this singular watchfulness. Its dimensions were 45 feet in length and 24 in breadth, with "leanto's" on each side, that would make its entire breadth 36 feet. This was the third house devoted to the service of God in the Connecticut Valley.

In all three of the early settlements, the first years of whose history have been briefly presented, prompt measures were taken for the education of youth—the initiative of the noblest system of common schools now existing in the world. In each of the three, a military company was established and officered, as a measure of defense against the possible treachery of the Indians, with whom, thus far, they had maintained entire peace. The Indians seem to have been on excellent terms with the settlers, notwithstanding the fact that they had absorbed their most valuable lands. They had been treated with fairness, and their numbers (much less than many suppose) as well as their habits of life, did not allow them to feel the real magnitude of the encroachments that had been made. Sometimes they were brought before the magistrates for misdemeanors, and fined. Ardent spirits and fire-arms were forbidden articles in all traffic with them, and cases were not uncommon in which whites were severely fined for selling to them the former article. Those who received licences to sell strong liquors were forbidden to sell to Indians—a measure of mercy to the Indians, and safety to the whites. In each of these places the ordinances of religion had been established, and on every Sabbath day the voice of prayer and the hymn of praise ascended from three rudely built sanctuaries. Almost the entire variety of staple crops, except potatoes, that now adorn the valley, had come to be cultivated then. There were fields of wheat, Indian corn, peas, barley, rye and oats. All these plantations were weak, and yet they were strong—strong in the excellence of their soil, in force of will and purpose, in hardy constitutions, and in faith in God.

These settlements, united to each other by constant, though still arduous, intercommunication, by common interests and by subordinate jurisdiction, had grown to such importance that, in the Spring of 1662, the General Court set them off, with a large extent of unsettled territory, into a County, with the name of Hampshire. The act constituting the County follows, in terms:

> "Forasmuch as the inhabitants of this jurisdiction are much increased, so that now they are planted far into the country, upon Connecticut River, who by reason of their remoteness cannot conveniently be annexed to any of the Counties already settled; and that public affairs may with more facility be transacted according to laws now established: It is ordered by the Court, and authority thereof, that henceforth Springfield, Northampton and Hadley shall be, and hereby are, constituted as a County, the bounds or limits on the South to be the South line of the patent, the extent of other bounds to be full 30 miles distant from any or either of the foresaid towns: and what towns or villages soever shall hereafter be

erected within the foresaid limits to be and belong to the said County. And further, that the said County shall be called Hampshire, and shall have and enjoy the liberties and privileges of any other County; that Springfield shall be the shire town there, and the Courts to be kept one time in Springfield and another time at Northampton; the like order to be observed for their shire meetings, that is to say, one year at one town and the next year at the other town, from time to time. The Deputies have passed this, with reference to the consent of the honored Magistrates.

16 (day) 3 (month) 1662.

WILLIAM TORREY, Clericus.

"The Magistrates do consent hereto, and do further order that all the inhabitants of the shire shall pay their public rates to the County Treasurer in fat cattle or young cattle, such as are fit to be put off, that so, no unnecessary damage be put on the County, and in case they make payment in corn, then to be made at such prices as the same do commonly pass amongst themselves, any other form or annual order, referring to the price of corn, to the contrary notwithstanding. Their brethren, the Deputies, hereto consenting.

EDWARD RAWSON, Sec'y.

"Consented to by the Deputies,

WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric."

Thus roughly, and thus indefinitely, were the boundaries of Hampshire County described. These boundaries were not curtailed until many years later, when Worcester County was formed, and still later when the County of Berkshire was erected. The Court of Assistants in Boston held appellate jurisdiction in all cases brought before the somewhat irregular Courts of the new County, and primary jurisdiction in all criminal cases extending to "life, member or banishment." The County Court, possessing no great degree of legal ability, were not likely to be greatly troubled with attorneys more learned than themselves, for the General Court had enacted a rule which, whether intended for that purpose or not, made, or tended to make, the profession of law contemptible. No person who was "a usual or common attorney" could hold a seat in the House of Deputies. This rule was adopted in 1663, about a year after the establishment of the County.

The payment of the County rates in cattle and corn rendered necessary a more convenient method of transportation than the upper plantations had hitherto enjoyed.

Increasing ability to carry out works for facilitating intercourse between the settlers, the advancing wants of a rising population, and over-production, were all felt, and, in 1663, a road was made between Hadley and Northampton, a distance of three miles. In the following year, a road was laid out to Windsor from Northampton, upwards of thirty miles, the expenses of which were borne by the three towns in equitable proportions. Over this road was transported the produce to the point where it could be shipped for Boston. The freight from Windsor to Boston, or Charlestown, amounted to the price of one-third of the cargo, in an instance that is left on record, while the land transport could not have amounted to much less. The changes of two hundred years, in view of these facts, may readily be appreciated by the present generation.

CHAPTER IV.

COMPLETION OF THE FIRST LINE OF SETTLEMENTS ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER—INCIDENTS OF INTEREST.

There are some facts connected with the manner in which New England was settled, in its earlier days, that are worthy of mention in connection with the mode pursued in later times, and still followed in the advancing settlements of the West. In consequence of the isolated condition of the settlements at that day, and the danger from the surrounding savages, the settlers always planted themselves together, in villages. While this method answered the immediate purpose for which it was designed, the ends incidentally secured were of far greater importance than were then dreamed of. All the inhabitants were, in that manner, brought under the immediate influence of the ordinances of religion, the children lived by the side of the school house, and the social features of civilized life were retained and cultivated. The Connecticut Valley now bears the marks of this ancient policy, not only in the accumulation of its inhabitants at scattered points, but in the morality, education and urbanity that, by a natural consequence, prevail among them. The influence of this policy can only be fully appreciated when standing by the side of the solitary settler's hut in the West, where even an Eastern man has degenerated to a boor in manners, where his children have grown up uneducated, and where the Sabbath has become an unknown day, and religion and its obligations have ceased to exercise control upon the heart and life. The appearance presented at this day, by the towns first settled on the Connecticut River, is unique. All the towns containing attractive interval lands are not occupied by farms, as the word is popularly understood. The inhabitants live in villages, and have their home-lots, their meadow lots, their upland lots, and their wood-land, while in the towns in their vicinity more recently settled, the farmers generally hold tracts undivided, and live upon them separately.

This settlement in villages, however, in connection with the want of operative general laws, produced a large amount of local legislation, and created a great number of offices. The rules and regulations of these early towns were numerous and minute. In 1649, the inhabitants of Springfield adopted a code of laws, or regulations, numbering twenty-eight, in which there was hardly a thing nameable in the plantation that passed unmentioned. It descended even to the regulation of wages, and the prescribing the number of pence per day to be paid for every kind of labor. During the Winter months, laborers were not allowed to take above 16d. per day, and for the Summer months, not more than 20d. per day. Mechanics had somewhat higher wages, and tailors the lowest of all—12d. per day. One of the regulations made it a finable offense to neglect attendance upon the annual town meetings, and another imposed a high penalty on any one who should refuse to accept an office to which he might be elected. The town offices were many, but many of them are now obsolete, or are considered nominal. There was some variation in the names and nature of the offices established in the first towns. In Springfield, there was a general "swine-ringer," whose business it was to "ring" all the swine in the town, doubtless because they were allowed to run at large. Hadley in after years had the same officer. Besides the Commissioners "for the ending of small causes," and the "select townsmen," there were usually measurers of land, constables, surveyors of highways, fence viewers, meat packers, tythingmen, sealers of weights and measures, haywards (hog-reeves and field-drivers), sextons, in some instances cow keepers and shepherds, and, at a later day, deer-reeves. The latter were chosen to carry out a law of the colony against killing deer at certain seasons of the year. Springfield sent a deputy (Henry Smith,) to the General Court as early as 1641. The first deputy from Hadley was Lt. Samuel Smith, who was chosen in 1661. Northampton sent her first deputy about the same year. The uniform pay of a deputy seems to have been £4 per session, and this sum did not come from the Colonial Treasury, but from the towns themselves. The practice of sending deputies to the General Court, who were non-residents, was not confined to Springfield. Northampton and Hadley sometimes sent deputies belonging in Boston, or its vicinity, for the purpose, doubtless, of saving expense. In 1663, Northampton chose deputies from Hadley, and the latter town, in 1669, chose a deputy from Northampton.

At the date of the establishment of Hampshire County, Springfield had made grants of land at Woronoco (Westfield), and Freshwater (Enfield, Ct.), and at each of those places small settlements had been commenced. As early as 1655, at least nine house lots were granted by Springfield on " Chicopee Plain," on the West side of the river, in the present town of West Springfield. About 1660, Thomas Cooper, Abel Leonard and Thomas Merrick, settled on the South-west side of the Agawam river. At a still earlier date—about 1644—settlements were made at Masacksick, or the "long meadow," in the present town of Longmeadow. Benjamin Cooley, George Colton and John Keep were among the first who planted themselves in that locality, near the bank of the river. Their descendents in this part of the country are numerous. All these settlements were made within the recognized limits of Springfield, and were within its jurisdiction. Settlements were also made in the vicinity of Chicopee River, and at the October term of the General Court, " Richard Fellows petitioned for a grant of 200 acres of land at Chicopee River, upland and meadow, engaging in consideration thereof, to build a house there for travelers, both horse room and house, and lodgings for men, and provisions for both, with beer and strong liquors." His petition was granted, on condition that he should keep his engagements, and maintain his establishment for seven years. The latter fact shows that considerable communication had been commenced between the settlements, and that it was so considerable that the General Court deemed it important that it should have road-side accommodations.

At the May Court, 1662, certain gentlemen who appear to have belonged in Windsor and Dorchester, presented a petition, representing themselves to be much in want of land, and asking for a tract six miles square at Woronoco, to be joined with the farms of "the late much honored Maj. Gen. Atherton and Capt. Roger Clapp of Dorchester," to whom it appears grants had previously been made by the Court. This petition was signed by fifteen individuals.

The Deputies voted to grant the petition, and decreed that the farms alluded to should belong to the plantation, in respect to public charges, and that "the order for Woronoco henceforth to lie to Springfield should be void," provided the petitioners should settle themselves and a minister within three years: otherwise the land was to belong to Springfield until a plantation should be settled there. The Deputies also appointed Capt. Pynchon, Capt. Edward Johnson, David Wilton, Samuel Smith and Nathaniel Dickinson, Sr., to set out the plantation, and order its affairs until twelve inhabitants should be settled, of whom six, at least, should be freemen. To this arrangement the magistrates disagreed, who deemed it best to appoint a Commission to view the territory, and report. But this scheme seems to have entirely miscarried, as no considerable settlement occurred there until 1666, and among those who held titles confirmed by a residence of five years, thereafter, the name of but one of the petitioners can be found, viz: George Phelps, who emigrated from Windsor. The majority of the settlers were from Springfield, and others were from Northampton. At a town meeting held at Springfield, Feb. 7th, 1664, Capt. Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke and Messrs. Ely, Colton and Cooley were appointed a standing committee "to have the sole power to order matters concerning Woronoco, both for admitting of inhabitants and to grant lands, or for any other business that may concern that place, and conduce to its becoming a town of itself." By a vote of Springfield, Thomas Cooper had a grant of land in Woronoco in 1658, but his settlement on the Agawam River in 1660 indicates that he did not occupy it, and, in fact, his name does not appear among those who held confirmed land titles at a later date. Neither does the name of Dea. Samuel Chapin, to whom a grant was made in 1660, of land adjoining Cooper's, appear in this list. It is evident that neither occupied his grant even temporarily. The first individual born in Woronoco was Benjamin Saxton, in 1666, and he lived to the good old age of 88 years. Meetings were first held on the Sabbath in 1667. Among the early residents was Mr. John Holyoke, son of Elizur Holyoke of Springfield, and he conducted public worship. He was at that time twenty-five years old. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and had studied theology with a view to a life devoted to the ministry. In this intention he did not persevere, and, soon after the death of his father, in the Winter of 1675–6, he returned to the old homestead in Springfield, where he spent the remainder of a long life, in celibacy, and in devotion to the public service in the various offices of Town Clerk, Register of Deeds for Hampshire county, and Magistrate. Mr. Moses Fiske subsequently preached at Woronoco, as a candidate for settlement, but a church was not organized until 1679, when Mr. Edward Taylor, the grandfather of the late President Stiles of Yale College, was ordained as pastor.

Woronoco was incorporated as a town, with the name of Westfield, in 1669. The name originally proposed for the new town was Streamfield, from its situation between two streams, but from the fact that it was then the Westernmost town in the colony, it received the name which it now bears. From the fact that Westfield was one of the best, if not the best, localities for beaver, known to the Indians and the settlers, it was probably more abundantly frequented by the Indians than any settlement in the Valley. The skins of the beaver were almost the only things that the Indians had to sell to the settlers. Being constantly in want of articles obtainable for these skins, they naturally sought out the resorts of their important game. More skins came from Woronoco than any other locality, and the occupation must have concentrated a large number of Indians there. Mr. Pynchon of Springfield was largely engaged in the trade, under license from the General Court, and it all passed through his hands. The opinion in regard to the plentifulness of the Indians at Woronoco is confirmed by the manner in which the settlement was arranged. At first the settlers seem to have lived in commons, although they cultivated each his separate tract of land. They lodged in a fort every night, and fled to it by day, in case of alarm. Around this fort, for a circuit of two miles, the land was strongly inclosed, and within this inclosure were afterwards erected all their dwellings.

Physicians, in the olden time, do not appear to have been very plenty, and none of the settlements, thus far made, seems to have enjoyed the services of one at so early a date as Westfield. George Filer, who, in 1665, was allowed by the County Court at Northampton, "to practice as a chirurgeon," left Northampton soon afterwards, and in 1667 settled in Westfield. Here he lived a few years, and then removed to Connecticut. Northampton had no surgeon within its limits, except during the temporary residence of Mr. Filer, from 1654 to 1730—a period of seventy-six years. The reason of this did not exist in the exemption of the settlers from disease and accident, but in the fact that no one settlement could support a surgeon, and thus, such surgeons as were to be found had a wide and not over-profitable circuit of practice. Dr. John Westcarr settled in Hadley in 1666, but eked out his living by engaging in trade, and doubtless alternately sold knives to the Indians and used them upon the whites. It is a matter of regret that he did not confine his dispensation of medicine to the whites, as a brace of fines for selling liquor to the Indians must have interfered somewhat seriously with his profits as well as reputation. After his death, some ten years subsequent to his settlement, Hadley had no physician for thirty-two years. Notwithstanding the early want and limited practice of physicians in these settlements, a greater number arrived to an advanced age, in proportion to the population, than at the present. The cause may possibly lie in present mal-practice, but more probably in the out-of-door pursuits and simple mode of living that then prevailed, in contradistinction from the high living and sedentary employments of later days.

The loose manner in which grants of land were made by the General Court produced early disturbance at Hadley. Immediately after, or within a year or two of the settlement of Hadley, the Court granted considerable tracts of valuable land to Mr. Bradstreet and Major Dennison. Mr. Bradstreet's grant embraced almost the whole of the Northern meadow in the present town of Hatfield, then belonging to Hadley. There is some evidence that Mr. Bradstreet's grant was made previously to that made to the settlers of Hadley, though, from the wording of a petition presented to the Court by Hadley, the opposite opinion appears to have prevailed with its inhabitants. The people of Hadley pleaded injustice on the part of the Court, and that body requested the owners of these tracts to resign their claims, with which request they complied; and then the Court changed the form of the grant by re-conveying the land to them in farms, which made them ratable in the payment of town charges. This was by no means satisfactory, as Hadley wanted the ownership of the lands for distribution to settlers. In this matter, they had the sympathy of their Northampton neighbors, thirty-five of whom petitioned the General Court in their behalf, representing that they had a hard time, mean accommodations, and ought to have more land. They also represented that there was danger of the breaking up of the plantation, and the consequent loss to the petitioners of Christian neighborhood. The people of Hadley united in a most spirited declaration to the Court, which breathed a tone of independence, that, judging from the closing language of the document, nearly frightened themselves. In this declaration they referred to the grant of land made to them by the Court, and their confidence in the integrity of that body, as witnessed in their removal and settlement. They stated that a committee of faithful men was employed to lay out the plantation, who attended to their duty, and that all they asked for was what that committee, with full power, awarded them. They professed their inability to see how the Court could take from them what it had given them, and asserted that the granting of a portion of their lands to these two gentlemen had discouraged certain individuals in Connecticut from coming to settle, in accordance with their intentions. Their declaration concludes in these words: "Had the Honored Court told us, when we first moved for a place, they looked upon us as not worthy of it, or that they would not give it to us, or that there should be such farms and we should have the remainder; or when it was given for farms that it must so remain and there was no reason to alter it, we should have had no such cause of hard thoughts, but having had such, so long continued, and successive encouragement, now to have it taken from us, when it was under us, how hard is it to keep out such thoughts, or to forbear supplicating to men and crying in the ears of the Lord for pity and help in our need." The two grantees were not dispossessed of their lands, notwithstanding the urgency of this plea, and, in 1664, Hadley sent Lt. Samuel Smith to Boston to purchase the meadow of Mr. Bradstreet, and he bought and paid £200 for it. Mr. Bradstreet still retained a thousand acres, which, with Major Dennison's farm, were denominated "The Farms," for many years, and were ultimately divided up and sold.

But the rich lands on the West side of the river did not long remain in a position to afford distress to the people of Hadley. The original settlement on the West side embraced six of the first settlers of Hadley, and, as the allotments of homesteads on the East side were perfected at first, the new comers probably took up their residence on the West side. The settlement in a few years became of considerable strength and importance, and as the Connecticut river was seen to form a natural town boundary, it aspired to the dignity and advantage of incorporation. It was accordingly incorporated in 1670, with the name of Hatfield, and chose town officers for the first time in 1671. The commissioners for ending small causes were Thomas Meekins, William Allis and John Cole. During the same year, Rev. Hope Atherton, a graduate of Harvard College in 1665, united with the inhabitants in requesting of the County court liberty "to enter into Church estate," and leave was accordingly granted. Mr. Atherton was the first minister, and fulfilled the duties of his office until 1677, when he died, at the early age of 33. In 1672, Hatfield added to its territory in a Northerly direction by purchasing of the Indians the tract now covered by the town of Whately, the price paid being fifty fathom of wampum. By the Indian deed conveying to John Pynchon (who acted for the settlers at Hadley) a considerable part of the territory now embraced in the bounds of Williamsburg, that also belonged to Hatfield. Thus was a large and important town erected, though we have no record of its representation in the General court for a period of twenty years after its incorporation.

During the process of the separation of Hatfield from Hadley, an important settlement was in progress at a point higher up, and on the same side of the river. Pocomtuck was the Indian name of the region above Hatfield, and, of this territory, the General court granted, in 1669, eight thousand acres, to a number of individuals of Dedham, in the Eastern part of the Massachusetts colony. This land embraced a considerable portion of the valuable interval on the Pocomtuck (now Deerfield) river, and extended Southward to the Northern bounds of Hatfield. Subsequent grants extended the Western limits of the plantation nine miles from the Connecticut, co-incident with the Western boundaries of Northampton and Hatfield, and Northward to the Southern boundary of the present town of Bernardston. Within this large tract are now contained the towns of Deerfield, Greenfield, Shelburne, Conway and Gill. It is doubtful whether the Indian title to any very large portion of this tract was ever extinguished. The land on which the settlement was made, with the interval in the vicinity, was, however, purchased of the Indians by John Pynchon of Springfield, "for the use and behoof of Major Eleazer Lusher, Ensign Daniel Fisher and other English at Dedham, their associates and successors." The deed was signed by Chauk, the sachem of the Pocomtuck Indians, and his brother Wapahoale, and was made in 1665, several years previous to the grant made by the General court. In this deed there were, as, in fact, was the case in most of the Indian deeds which had been given on the river, certain privileges reserved by the Indians, such as fishing and hunting on the territory as before the sale, and "the gathering of walnuts, chestnuts and other nuts and things on the commons." A considerable number of settlers arrived at Pocomtuck in 1670, and, within four years thereafter, several houses had been erected. At the session of the General court, May, 1673, the territory was "allowed to be a township," but it was not regularly incorporated until May 24th, 1682. The ordering of the affairs of the plantation, for the first few years of its existence, was intrusted to a Committee, with which Mr. Pynchon was associated, both as a voting member and a counsellor in the laying out of lands and the general conduct of affairs. Pocomtuck took the name of Deerfield, and was the first town in the valley that could give a good and sufficient reason for its name. The name chosen by Westfield could only have a temporary significance, while the four towns of Springfield, Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield were named in honor of English towns. To have retained the name "Pocomtuck," would have been in better taste, but "Deerfield" holds a slight appreciable connection with early local history. The settlement was made on the site of the present "Old Deerfield-street," and formed the scene in subsequent years of some of the most stirring and painful events of the Indian wars. There was no settled minister in the town until 1686, when Mr. John Williams assumed the duties of that office at a yearly salary of £60. The worthy minister lived a life of marvellous vicissitudes (as will in the regular course of the narrative appear,) until, in the forty-eighth year of his ministry, he was laid to rest.

In 1672—two years after the settlement of Deerfield—Mr. Pynchon, with a number of associates, received the grant of a township on the Connecticut River, covering a tract known by the Indian name of Squakheag. The tract was twelve miles in length, by six in breadth, lying on both sides of the river, and, running Northward, passed by mistake over the line of the Massachusetts patent, and entered the present States of Vermont and New Hampshire. The brief record is that "the planters built small huts and covered them with thatch; made a place for public worship, and built a stockade and fort." The first settlement of Squakheag was made in 1673, by individuals from Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, and the place received the name of Northfield, from the fact that it was then the Northern settlement on the Connecticut. The history of this settlement, weak at the best, was brief, and its end disastrous. At the time of the settlement of Northfield, the Eastern colonists of Massachusetts Bay had pushed their settlements Westward, and had advanced one into the wilderness, half way to the Connecticut River. This was at Quaboag—the present town of Brookfield—and now belonging to the county of Worcester. That town was embraced within the original boundaries of Hampshire County. The settlement was made in 1660, by planters from Ipswich, who had a grant of territory six miles square. They, too, took care to purchase their land of the natives, and dealt with them honorably. In 1673, the town was incorporated.

From the settlement of Springfield in 1636, to that of Northfield in 1673, a period of thirty-seven years had passed away. During this long season of toil and hardship, a string of settlements, extending along the Connecticut River across the entire breadth of the Massachusetts patent, had been made. Springfield sat astride the river at the South, and Northfield was divided by the same stream at the North, while intermediately, Northampton, Hatfield and Deerfield occupied the western bank, and Hadley the eastern. Westfield was alone, some eight miles west of Springfield. From Springfield to Northampton, and the neighbors who had settled within her sight, the distance was twenty miles, and from Northfield and Deerfield it was nearly the same distance to the central, trefoil cluster. There are no data by which may be definitely estimated the aggregate population of these towns at the date of the settlement of Northfield. It is recorded that there were 71 qualified voters in Springfield, but as all who were of the age to vote, according to present laws, were not "freemen," or voters, then, any calculation based on this number must be unsatisfactory. The town had not increased so rapidly as Northampton, but it probably contained a greater number of inhabitants. The number of settlers in Northampton was, according to the records, about one hundred, and allowing three to the family of each settler, which would seem to be a reasonably estimated average, that town contained 400 inhabitants. Hatfield and Hadley probably contained from 200 to 400 more, while Westfield, Deerfield and Northfield contained an aggregate, perhaps, of two hundred. Fifteen hundred would doubtless be an extravagant estimate of the white population of the Valley at the date stated, and the majority of these were dependents. The Indian inhabitants, as has already been incidentally stated, were not numerous, and calculation is entirely at fault in giving even an approximate estimate of their number. All the land occupied by the settlers had been fairly purchased of them, they were well treated, and found it for their advantage, in the way of trade, to maintain amicable relations with their new neighbors. Though allowed to govern themselves in their small, independent communities, they did not hesitate to claim justice at the hands of the magistrates, when they had received injury from the whites, nor did they, as a body, demur to magisterial authority when any of their number were detected in acts of aggression upon the settlers, though the latter rarely used violence in securing their persons. In some instances, the magistrates, in issuing a warrant for the arrest of an Indian, gave special instructions to the constable to abstain from force. It will have been seen that Mr. Pynchon was engaged in nearly every important transaction with the Indians of the Valley, and it was doubtless due to his just and considerate policy that, for nearly forty years, the settlers lived in perfect peace in the midst of an Indian population. In this policy, Mr. Pynchon took his first and most important lessons from his father, of whose opinion the General Court, in one remarkable instance, practically testified their appreciation. In 1648, two or three of the Quaboag tribe were murdered by several wandering savages, who repaired for refuge to the Nonotucks, in the region of Northampton. At the instance of the Nashua Indians, acting for the Quaboags, the Massachusetts magistrates wrote to the elder Pynchon, directing him to cause the arrest of the murderers, and to transmit them to Boston for trial. Mr. Pynchon disagreed to this policy, and wrote a letter to the magistrates, of which the following is an extract: "If things be well examined, I apprehend that neither the murthered are your subjects, nor yet the murtherers within your jurisdiction. I grant they are within the line of your patent, but yet, you cannot say that they are therefore your subjects; nor yet within your jurisdiction, until they have fully subjected themselves to your Government, (which I know they have not) and until you have bought their land. Until this be done, they must be esteemed an independent people, and so they of Nonotuck do all account themselves." The magistrates saw the force of this reasoning, and declined all further action in the matter.

The Indians were not only treated on these broad and general principles of justice, but they were allowed remarkable privileges upon the very territory that had been purchased of them. They had their little villages of wigwams on land belonging to the towns, and held them undisturbed. There was one of these villages near Pecowsic brook at the southern border of Springfield, and another on the banks of the Agawam. On "long hill," a mile and a half south of the settlement, they had a strong fortress. During the earlier days of Northampton, they asked the privilege of building a fort. Their request was granted, on conditions looking so considerately to the good of the Indians and the safety of the settlers, that they may not pass unnoticed. The conditions were—"that the Indians do not work, game, or carry burdens within their town on the Sabbath; nor powow here nor anywhere else; nor get liquor, nor cider, nor get drunk; nor admit Indians from without the town; nor break down the fences of the inhabitants; nor let cattle or swine upon their fields, but go over a stile at one place; nor admit among them the murderers Calawane, Wuttowhan and Pacquallant; nor hunt, or kill cattle, sheep, or swine with their dogs." This fort they occupied for several years, and, as the settlements crowded upon them, they removed to Pascommuck, (now Easthampton,) where they built another fort. They had a fort in Hadley, of which "Fort River" and "Fort Meadow" are to-day the abiding mementos, and about a mile above Hatfield, they held another fortification.

The Indians who inhabited the Valley, in squads that passed under different names, could not pretend to the dignity of distinct tribes. They all spoke the same language, and took their names from the localities they inhabited. Thus, there were the Agawams at Springfield, the Woronokes at Westfield, the Nonotucks at Northampton and Hadley, the Pocomtucks at Deerfield, and the Squakheags at Northfield. The settlement of the whites, at the very points inhabited by these various hordes, simply shows that both races knew where the best land existed. All these Indians were sometimes called Pocomtucks, and the Pocomtucks proper, according to Gookin, were under the dominion of the sachem of the Massachusetts Nation. However this may be, they seem to have operated subsequently with entire independence of superior authority.

The uniform policy of the settlers, from the first, was to keep liquor and fire-arms from these savage clans. All their laws were very strict upon the subject. Nevertheless, the frequent fines imposed upon those who engaged in the liquor traffic with them show that their laws were of but little avail. This was further evidenced in their drunkenness, and the moral debasement consequent upon it. The heaviest penalties imposed upon the illegal traffic could not check it. In some instances, offenders were fined £40, and even £44—large sums for those days, and more than were paid for whole townships of land—yet, notwithstanding this, drunkenness became fearfully prevalent. The records of the Court of Hampshire County, in 1670, bear these words: "The woful drunkenness of the Indians calls aloud to use the most laudable means to prevent that sin among them." They had somehow, too, become possessed of fire-arms, though it is not obvious how. There are always unprincipled men enough, anywhere, to engage in a contraband traffic, and an Indian would doubtless give five times the value of a fire-arm in beaver skins, in order to secure an implement so exactly adapted to his mode of life. Under such a temptation as this, it is not strange that cupidity should have found means to place within their power an agency which rum, or a fancied provocation, would render so dangerous to the settlers.

Though living in almost unrestrained intercourse with the Indians, the planters knew the native treachery of their character, and had provided for the possibility of its exhibition, from the first. In every town, there were fortified houses. There were three in Springfield, one of which, built of brick by John Pynchon, in 1660, remained standing until 1831, as has been already stated. The manner in which Westfield was fortified has already been described. It was thus with every settlement. The fort and the meeting house were the essentials in every plantation. On the 14th of November, 1639, among other orders and regulations adopted at Springfield was the following: "It is ordered that the exercise of trayning shall be practised one day in every month; and if occasion doe sometimes hinder, then the like space of tyme shall be observed another tyme, though it be two days after one another. And whosoever shall absent himself without a lawful excuse shall forfeit twelve pence, and all above fifteen years of age shall be counted for soldiers, and the tyme to begin, the first Thursday in December next." Henry Smith was appointed Sergeant of this company, with power to choose a corporal. This was, of course, a military force comprising all the available strength of the plantation. The Northampton planters probably had some kind of a military organization before their first regular company of militia was formed, which was in August, 1661—seven years after their settlement. Hadley attended to this business earlier in its history, and organized a company in 1663, choosing Samuel Smith, Lieutenant, Aaron Cooke Jr. ensign bearer, John Dickinson and Joseph Kellogg sergeants, and John Russell, the father of the minister there, the clerk.

The earlier military organizations seem to have been voluntary on the part of the towns, and without special regulation on the part of the Colonial Government. In 1643, the league or union of the New England Colonies—Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven—was effected, by which all wars, offensive or defensive, were made chargeable upon the respective colonies in proportion to their male inhabitants between sixteen and sixty years of age. This arrangement, made for mutual defense and assistance, naturally called for an efficient organization of the militia, and, accordingly, in 1644, the Massachusetts colony enacted a series of regulations for the militia, and established an organization. At this time, there were twenty-six training bands in the colony, who, by the new laws, were ordered to be exercised and drilled eight days in the year. The officers of the several companies were made elective by the members. The companies of each county comprised a regiment, over which was placed a "Sergeant Major," and over the whole was placed a "Sergeant Major General." The commander-in-chief and the commanders of regiments were under appointment of the General Court. "The first Major General was the much honored Thomas Dudley Esquire, whose faithfulness, and great zeal, and love to the truths of Christ, caused the people to choose him to this office, although he were far stricken in years." At this date, Hampshire County was not in existence, but some years after its establishment, in 1671, Capt. John Pynchon, who had previously held the command of the Springfield company, and also of the "Hampshire Troop"—a company of horse, having its members in all parts of the county—was appointed commander of the river regiment. In this command he received the title of "Major," to which popular veneration subsequently prefixed the word "Worshipful."

It was under this colonial league and this military organization that a new and most important era commenced with the settlements on the Connecticut River—a period of war, disaster and moral and physical distress—a period during which was shed much precious blood, and which resulted in the banishment of the native tribes, and the peaceful occupation of their lands by the settlers.

CHAPTER V.

KING PHILIP'S WAR — THE CAMPAIGN OF 1675.

AFTER the destruction and reduction of the Pequot Indians, in 1637, the Narragansets, who were allies of the English in the Pequot war, and whose territory was principally in the present State of Rhode Island, became, from not very obvious causes, inimical to them. Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans, had manifested his good will towards the English, and had their confidence, in consequence of which, Miantonomo, the chief of the Narragansets, was undoubtedly affected with jealousy. Miantonomo was also offended at the distribution of the Pequots among the tribes after their reduction, he supposing that that matter would be left to him. The malice engendered by these and other considerations expended itself, through a series of years, in indignities upon the Mohegans. Miantonomo endeavored, by every subtle stratagem, to destroy Uncas, and the English always taking the part of the latter, he began also to plot against them. In 1642, he was suspected of having contrived a general conspiracy to cut off all the English in the country. The conspiracy was discovered through various sources, but the wily chief appeared before the magistrates at Boston, made smooth professions, and signed a treaty in which he yielded all that was asked. In 1643, making war upon Uncas, he was taken prisoner, and, by the consent of the commissioners of the four colonies, lost his head. This did not placate his tribe, who became, in 1645 and 1646, so insolent that the colonies determined to make war upon them, but succeeded, without shedding blood, in over-awing them.

Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, and the highest in authority among numerous petty tribes in his vicinity, is immortalized in American history for having kept his faith, originally pledged to the settlers at Plymouth, in 1621, for the long period of forty-one years, or until his death which occurred in 1662. His principal residence was at Mount Hope, in the present town of Bristol, Rhode Island. Dying, he left two sons—Alexander and Philip.

The former succeeded to the dignities of his father, but died the same year, when Philip became the sachem. In almost every quality of mind and property of constitution, Philip was the antipodes of his father. Jealous, daring, brave, indomitable, and possessing remarkable sagacity, he formed the strongest possible contrast to the mild and faithful old chieftain who, before his death, took both him and his immediate predecessor before the English, and expressed the desire that between them and the English there might never be other than relations of amity. For some eight or nine years after the accession of Philip to the chieftainship, but little is heard of him, save in business transactions with the English, involving the transfer of his lands. During this time, however, and in those very transactions, he saw with prophetic forecast, the scepter departing from his hand, and his lands absorbed by strangers. During this time, too, his power had been increased by the acquisition of English arms, and by the confirmation of friendly relations with the Narragansets, established before the death of Massasoit. The Narragansets were powerful, and hated the English, a fact most favorable to any schemes which Philip might devise against the latter. And these schemes did not long slumber. Skilled beyond savage diplomacy in deception, possessing a mental power that, among the various tribes, carried with it great influence, brave even to ferocity, jealous of the English, and ambitious in proportion to the strength of his intellect, it is not strange that, trampling upon treaties, he should conceive the design of annihilating the English settlements in New England. In 1670, his Indians were engaged in many suspicious movements. They frequently held assemblies, and were engaged in repairing their arms, and grinding their hatchets. There was evidently a nursing of ill blood towards the English among them, which found vent in occasional insults. The Plymouth colony demanded of them the cause of such proceedings, and at the same time informed Massachusetts of the step they had taken. The latter dispatched three messengers who, with the Governor and two other gentlemen of Plymouth, met at Taunton, where, after considerable difficulty, they succeeded in bringing Philip to negotiations. After every possible equivocation, he confessed his designs upon the English. Owing, doubtless, to the imperfection of his plans, he consented to deliver up his English arms, numbering some seventy muskets, and signed an acknowledgement of his breach of faith and a renewed promise of fidelity. Once out of this troublesome presence, he forgot all his promises, and refused to come to Plymouth when sent for. The policy of Plymouth, all this time, was to go to war with him, but they were held in check by the more moderate counsels of Massachusetts. Philip took advantage of the evident dislike of Massachusetts to engage in war, and "happening to come to Boston" on the very day an impatient message was received from Plymouth, he appeared before the Governor, and represented affairs so favorably, and with such apparent fairness, that the Governor and Council wrote back to Plymouth, urging that Government to refer the matter between it and Philip for amicable settlement. Philip, while at Boston, promised not to enter into war with Plymouth without the approval of Massachusetts. Very soon after this, he was drawn into another agreement, in which he pledged fidelity to the Plymouth government, and promised specific reparation of wrongs. From this time until 1674, Philip was busy with his schemes for uniting all the various tribes for the purpose of exterminating the English. The Nonotucks acknowledged the existence of such a plot. Suspicion was abroad, and this, by producing caution in furnishing the Indians with arms, made the Sachem's preparations slow and difficult. Still the conspiracy progressed, and reached and affected the most friendly tribes, the Mohegans, who had been befriended by the English in their troubles with the Narragansets, alone remaining true to their pledges. This latter tribe were, of course, ripe and ready for a scheme which would so revenge them upon the whites, and they agreed to furnish 4,000 men. The entire preparations were not to be perfected before 1676, but the storm exploded prematurely.

John Sausaman, a "praying Indian," converted under the labors of the missionary Eliot, at Natick, had fled to Philip on the commission of some misdemeanor, and for some years was his counsellor and confidant. He was then prevailed upon to return to Natick. Subsequently, in an interview with some of Philip's Indians, he discovered their plots, and gave information of them. For this he was murdered by Philip's command, and the authorities at

Plymouth arrested the murderers and hung them. This infuriated the restive chief, and, forgetting prudence in revenge, he precipitated the war for which his allies were not yet prepared. After considerable angry bluster, and, by mustering and marching his men endeavoring to provoke an attack, he entered Swanzey, killed the settlers' cattle, and rifled some of their houses. On the 24th of June, 1675, his Indians fired upon a citizen of Rehoboth. On the same day, they entered Swanzey again, and committed several murders. This started out the Massachusetts forces. On the 26th, a foot and a horse company set off from Boston, toward Mount Hope, and they were soon overtaken by a volunteer company of 110 men under Capt. Samuel Moseley, an old Jamaica bucanneer. They met a Plymouth company at Swanzey, where a brush with the Indians immediately ensued, in which one of the soldiers and half a dozen Indians were killed, and in consequence of which, Philip was obliged to leave Mount Hope in haste, with all his forces. After some further unimportant skirmishes, orders came from Massachusetts for its companies to pass into the Narraganset country, and make a treaty with that tribe. They made their treaty, (an easy thing to do with Indians unwilling or not ready to fight,) and, during their absence, the Plymouth forces, or a portion of them, went to Pocasset on a similar errand, but found themselves engaged in a different business, and one which cost the Indians a number of lives. The Massachusetts forces having concluded their treaty, returned to Taunton on the 17th, where they were joined by those of Plymouth in an attempt to dislodge Philip from a swamp at Pocasset. This expedition was disastrous, fifteen of the troops being killed, and Philip taking courage from their ill success.

This sudden onset of war surprised the Indians in every direction. They were not ready for it. Their hearts were in it, but their hands were not prepared. Some hesitated between adherence to peace with the English, and keeping faith with Philip, while others professed friendship, to gain time for watching the current of events. But the war spirit spread, and hostilities were commenced against the English in other quarters. On the 14th of July, the Nipmucks, occupying central Massachusetts, killed four or five people at Mendon. These Indians were in acknowledged subjection to those of Mount Hope, and their co-operation with them was not only natural, but had been anticipated and feared. Messengers were sent to them from the Massachusetts authorities, to ascertain their state of feeling, and they were found surly and insolent. On the 28th of July, the Governor and Council sent Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler, with twenty horsemen, for the purpose of making some arrangement with these Indians. They were to meet them at Brookfield, with the inhabitants of which, the Indians had promised to make a treaty on the 2d of August. On this promise the people of that lonely settlement fully relied, and suspected no danger. This company reached Brookfield without trouble, and without seeing any Indians; and then, with a number of the settlers, and three Christian Indians, set out for the place agreed upon by the Indians for making the treaty. They reached the spot designated, but not an Indian was to be seen. Passing carelessly on, the Brookfield men being unarmed, they proceeded some five or six miles in the direction of the chief town of the tribe. Arriving at a narrow passage between a hill and a heavy swamp, in the vicinity of Wickaboag Pond, they came suddenly upon an ambuscade, and from two to three hundred Indians sprang to their feet, and poured in upon them a deadly fire. Eight of the company fell dead, and three more received mortal wounds, among whom was Capt. Hutchinson. The names of those killed were Zachariah Phillips of Boston, Timothy Farley of Billerica, Edward Colburn of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedley of Concord, Sydrach Hapgood of Sudbury, and Capt. Ayres, John Coye, and Joseph Pritchard of Brookfield. Several others were badly wounded. Capt. Wheeler was one of these. His horse fell under him, and he received a ball through his body. His son, who formed one of the expedition, leaped from his own horse, and, with such assistance as he could give with one arm, the other being shattered, placed his father upon him, and himself mounting another whose rider had been killed, they galloped off and escaped. The first movement was, of course, a precipitate retreat. They were several miles distant from the settlement, and taking a by-path, pointed out by one of the Christian Indians, they at last reached home without further damage, though hotly pursued. Before their arrival, either from hearing the report of the musketry, or by the intermediation of a messenger, the town had been alarmed, and the inhabitants, leaving their dwellings, repaired, about seventy in number, to a house fortified in the hurry of the occasion, and but poorly prepared to resist a furious attack. Into this house the returning remnant of the company rushed, panting with excitement and effort, adding strength as well as terror to the affrighted assemblage. They were hardly within the walls before the savage host was around them. They poured in their fire upon the house, and from every loop-hole received a well aimed fire in return, which forced them to take a more respectful distance. While this passage at arms was in progress, the torch of the incendiary was busy with the other dwellings, and the crackling of fierce flames, as houses and barns were swallowed up in destruction, mingled with the yells of the assailants. The cattle of the plantation, affrighted at the sounds and the spectacle, fled. After in a measure glutting themselves with destruction, they surrounded the fortified house with redoubled fury, determined to burn it, and thus put an end to the precious lives it contained. Too near an approach was death to them, and they were driven to every possible ingenuity of stratagem. Arrows armed with fire were discharged at the house, and long poles, tipped with torches, were thrust toward the frail citadel, but without effect. A cart was then filled with combustible stuffs, which on being set fire to, was pushed toward the house by poles spliced upon one another. As this fearful engine approached, destruction seemed inevitable, but, by a most providentially opportune shower of rain, the fire-bearer was disarmed.

Thus night closed down upon the besieged, and what daylight would not permit, was sought to be effected under cover of darkness. A quantity of combustibles was stealthily conveyed to the side of the house, and then set fire to. The building was so much endangered that some of the inmates were obliged to go out, and draw water from a well, to quench the flames; and, though fired upon continually, they escaped without the loss of a man. The night passed, and another day, when, on the 4th of August, Major Simon Willard, at the head of a troop of forty horse, near Lancaster, and on a hostile expedition to the Indians near that place, heard of the danger to which Brookfield was exposed, and dashed off with all haste to its relief. The affrighted cattle which had remained away from the scenes that have been described, after their stampede, fell into his rear, and in the darkness of night followed him into the village. An Indian guard had been placed at the very avenue through which he approached, but the dusky forms that swept past them, horses and animals being counted alike, appeared so numerous that they did not venture to fire a gun. As soon as the company were within the garrison, however, the Indians poured in upon the house a hot fire. No damage being done, except in the killing of several horses, they then set fire to such houses as remained unharmed, and retreated to the woods. The besiegers lost eighty of their men, while only one man in the house was killed. News of the attack on Brookfield by some means found its way to Springfield, and a Springfield company under Lieut. Thomas Cooper, comprising also thirty men from Hartford, for whom Major Pynchon had sent, and a number of professedly friendly Indians—in all eighty men—immediately set out for the relief of that settlement, but they arrived after the danger was past, and some days afterwards returned home. Companies under the command of Captains Lathrop and Beers, from the Eastern part of the colony, also arrived, but too late to render any service. In the meantime, Philip, after remaining in the swamp at Pocassst, and engaging in several skirmishes, left those quarters, among the last days of July, and found his way into the Nipmuck country unpursued, or pursued with little efficiency. It appears from the narrative of a Christian Indian, named George, who was taken prisoner at the surprise of Capt. Hutchinson's party on the 2d of August, that, on the 5th of that month, which must have been within a few hours of the time when the Indians retired from Brookfield, Philip, at the head of forty men and a much larger number of women and children, made his appearance in a swamp to which the besiegers had retired. But thirty of his men had muskets, and ten of them were wounded. The hunted chief was immediately a gratified listener to the story of the massacre and the siege that had just transpired, and, to signify his approbation, he distributed, with royal munificence, a peck of unstrung wampum each, to three of the Nipmuck sagamores. But he was poorer in men than in treasure. He started from Mount Hope with 250 men. Some had left him, others were killed, and at that time only forty of his men stood around him. Philip acknowledged that if the English had followed him a day or two longer in the swamp, or even if he had been efficiently pursued when he left it, he must have been taken, as his ammunition was nearly exhausted.

Major Willard and his force still remained at Brookfield, and had, in company with the auxiliaries from Springfield and the East, scoured the forests around without finding the enemy. The latter had fled Westward, towards the Connecticut. In consequence of this movement probably, rather than from any specific suspicion of the intentions of the Indians about Hadley, Captain Beers and Lathrop, pushed on to that town, and there had, under their command, 180 men. At last they became suspicious that the Indians there were only waiting for an opportunity to join in the schemes of Philip, of whose arrival among the Pocomtuck Indians at Deerfield the event proved they were aware. These suspicions were based on the facts that they asked for no lands on which to plant corn as usual, that one of them had said there would be war that year, that they had withdrawn all their goods from the possession of the settlers, with whom they had been intrusted, that "they gave eleven triumphant shouts after the burning of Brookfield, as their manner was," that two of Philip's Indians had been admitted into their fort, and various other equally suggestive circumstances. Hubbard says that these Indians first professed enmity to Philip, and offered to assist in fighting him, and that their duplicity was discovered by some friendly Mohegan Indians, allies of the English. Accordingly, they were ordered to deliver up their arms. Intimating their readiness to do this, though after considerable manifest hesitation, they deferred the matter until night, when, it being the 25th of August, they secretly left their fort, and fled up the river. Their flight was discovered, and the next day Beers and Lathrop pursued them. Coming up with the fugitives near the base of Sugarloaf Mountain, in what is now known as South Deerfield, they fired upon them, and a hot engagement followed, in which the Indians lost twenty-six killed, and the English ten. The remainder fled, and made good their escape to Philip, and, ceasing from the pursuit, Lathrop and Beers returned to Hadley. The names of nine of the soldiers killed at Deerfield were as follow:—William Cluff, Azariah Dickinson, James Levens, Richard Fellows, Samuel Mason, John Plumer, Mathew Scales, Mark Pitman and Joseph Person.

Hadley, by its central position in the settlements, and, from its location upon the neck of a peninsula, being less exposed to sudden attacks than other neighboring points, became the head-quarters of the English forces in the river campaign. The presence of the Mohegans at Hadley has been mentioned. They formed a portion of re-inforcements sent to the spot by both Massachusetts and Connecticut. Detachments from these new troops were stationed in garrison at Northampton, Hatfield, Deerfield and Northfield. Preparations had been made for the worst, and the worst was expected. Deerfield was in the very midst of the hostile forces, and the exasperated Philip was on the spot. The Squakheags, at Northfield, were one with the Pocomtucks in intention and policy, and were doubtless in daily communication with Philip, while he was probably with them, more or less. These facts were apparent to Major Treat (of Connecticut, then commanding at Hadley,) and even while he was deliberating and determining, the Indians had commenced their cruel work. A week had elapsed after the action in Southern Deerfield, when they fell upon the settlers at Deerfield, killed one of them, and burnt the most of the village. This was on the first of September, and but two or three days passed thereafter when they attacked Northfield, killed nine or ten men, and the remaining settlers barely escaped destruction by flying to their fort. Before these disasters became known to Major Treat, he dispatched Capt. Beers, with thirty-six mounted men, to Northfield, to convoy provisions to the garrison and settlers. His path was a long and tedious one, through an unbroken forest, for about thirty miles. He passed up through the territory now occupied by the towns of Sunderland, Montague and Erving, going through many dangerous places without seeing an Indian. At last, his company dismounted, left their horses, and, retarded by the difficult progress of their baggage wagon, continued the march on foot. The company arrived within two miles of their destination, and were happily dreaming that their toils and dangers were over, when, in crossing a swampy ravine, they fell upon an ambuscade. The ravine opened up upon their right for some distance, and here, and in front of the approaching victims, the savages lay concealed. As soon as Capt. Beers and his men walked unsuspectingly into the snare, they received a murderous fire from the front and right, and many of them fell dead upon the spot. The remainder scattered in wild confusion, and turned in retreat, the Indians being in full pursuit. Gaining the brow of a hill, at the distance of some three-quarters of a mile from the scene of slaughter, Capt. Beers rallied his men, or such as were in his vicinity, and there bravely maintained his ground against overwhelming odds, until he fell, fatally wounded. He fought to the last, and the plain over which he retreated, and the hill where he fell, now most appropriately bear his name. At his fall, his gallant men fled, and took their way back to Hadley, leaving their dead and wounded. Of the thirty-seven who engaged in the expedition, only sixteen returned to tell of the disaster. Of the twenty soldiers killed, the names of only twelve have been preserved, which are as follow:—John Gatchell, Benjamin Crackbun, Ephraim Child, John Wilson, George Dickens, Thomas Cornish, Robert Pepper, John Genery, Jeremiah Morrell, Elisha Woodward, William Markham and James Mullard,—or James Miller, as it is otherwise written.

As soon as the fight was over, the savages gave themselves up to the infliction of the most revolting barbarities upon the persons of the dead and dying. From some they cut off the heads, and stuck them up upon poles by the side of the traveled path. Upon one, the barbarity inflicted was so cruel that it would seem that it must have been visited upon a living subject. The hook of a chain was fastened behind the lower jaw, and, by this fixture, he was suspended to a tree. All this, Major Treat and a hundred of his men saw two days afterwards, on arriving at the spot, to bring aid to the sufferers at Northfield. One object the Indians had in view was, doubtless, to terrify those who might attempt revenge, and the effect seems to have been secured, for the witnesses were appalled. They, however, pushed on to Northfield, and brought away the garrison and the inhabitants. In returning, Major Treat met Capt. Samuel Appleton with another force. The latter was anxious to advance up the river, and chastise the enemy, but Major Treat, as well as his command, either from conscious inferiority of numbers, or in consequence of the sickening impressions then upon them, were averse to the proceeding, and all returned to Hadley. But a short time after the departure of this last force from Northfield, the Indians applied the torch to the fort, houses, and all the property left behind, and thus brought to a sad conclusion the first settlement at Northfield.

At this time, Capt. Moseley, who had distinguished himself in the Eastern part of the colony, commanded the garrison at Deerfield. Reinforcements of the troops at Hadley had taxed that and the adjacent towns beyond their capacity for supplies. But around Deerfield, in the fields of its inhabitants, was a large amount of wheat, in stack. Hubbard states the amount to have been 3,000 bushels, but this seems like an exaggeration, considering the weakness of the plantation. Whatever the amount may have been, it was the nearest and most available resource in the extremity,—an extremity made the more apparent by the rapid approach of winter. The wheat was a treasure, and it was within the power of the enemy to destroy it. Accordingly, Capt. Lathrop was detached from Hadley with eighty young men, and a large number of teams. These young soldiers were all from the Eastern part of the colony, and, according to Hubbard, were "the very flower of the county of Essex." Capt. Lathrop himself was from Salem. Deerfield was distant from Hadley about fifteen miles, and all arrived at their destination without disturbance. There, after threshing the grain, the baggage wagons were loaded, and on the 18th of September the party set out on their return. During all their operations at Deerfield, no Indians had been seen, and with but little misgiving the return-march was commenced. But they had been watched, and their march and mission known. Arriving nearly opposite Sugarloaf Mountain, and in not remote vicinity of the scene of the fight with the fugitive Indians of Hadley, their path lay across a stream, on which the events of that day conferred the name of "Bloody Brook." This stream was then overshadowed with trees, over which the native grape had clambered, and from which it displayed its tempting clusters. This brook-side thicket, like that which had been the scene of the successful ambuscade at Northfield, afforded the best possible opportunity for the operations of the Indians, and here, to the overwhelming number of seven hundred, they planted themselves. No scout had been sent in advance to look for danger, and no danger was suspected. The company marched entirely or partly across the morass, and then halted, either for rest, or to watch the passage of the laboring teams. Here they paused, within the very jaws of death, and tradition says that the soldiers climbed the trees to feast themselves upon grapes. This tradition has been commemorated in a rude painting that hung in the dining room of the old "Pocomtuck House" at South Deerfield, many years ago. Those who are deemed sound authority, however, contradict the tradition, and attribute the climbing of the trees to the teamsters. Traditions of this character, on the very ground of the events they perpetuate, always have a basis. Whether soldiers or teamsters were thus careless or not, all had halted, and all were off their guard.

Now was the moment for the murderous host. The implacable Philip was doubtless with them, and his was probably the signal gun that brought from every bush, and brake, and sheltering tree, the fiery shower. Among the English, all was dire confusion. Many fell dead at the first discharge, and leaping from their lurking places, the savages rushed upon them with terrible slaughter. The troops, broken by death and broken by surprise, scattered in all directions. Capt. Lathrop fell early, but, following his professed tactics—to fight Indians in their own way—the remainder of his men took each his tree, and resolved to sell his life at the dearest rate. One after another the Indians fell beneath their unerring aim, and one after another themselves dropped away, each man the aim of a dozen Indian marksmen. But the contest was decided, and such of the English as could flee, fled. The wounded were coldly butchered, and there, as the result of the terrible massacre, lay ninety men, soldiers and teamsters, still warm with the buoyant life that was theirs but an hour before, in the ghastly sleep of death. Only seven or eight of their companions escaped. The roar of the musketry rolled across the silent woods, and reached the ears of the garrison at Deerfield. The valiant Capt. Moseley, with his little company, was immediately on the march for the scene of action, but when he arrived, the struggle was over, and the savages were engaged in stripping the dead. The whole body of Indians were together, and in a position most favorable for Capt. Moseley's attack, which commenced with a spirited and splendid charge. In compact order they cut their way through the enemy, inflicting terrible slaughter on every side. Rapid in movement, and always together, they charged back and forth, until the savage host sought safety in flight. Reaching a swamp near by, they rallied again, and the action went on for several hours. But the ammunition of the Indians becoming exhausted, they retreated, and left the gallant band of English, masters of the field. It is not unlikely that the arrival of Major Treat from Hadley, with a hundred men, had its part in determining the savages to fly, for the reinforcement fell immediately in with the final pursuit. The loss of the Indians was estimated at ninety-six, and the large majority of these must have been slain by Capt. Moseley and his men, who lost but two of their number—Peter Barron and John Oates. It was a gallant exploit, and a befitting revenge for the most terrible massacre of whites furnished by the annals of New England.

The shades of evening began to fall upon the bloody field, and fancy only can call up the feelings of the tired soldiers as they repaired to the spot where their old companions in arms, and in the social circle, lay reposing in a bloody death, their brows gashed with the tomahawk, their hearts' blood steeping the ground, and their ghastly faces looking still more ghastly in the dim light that fell through the trees. A silent farewell taken of the murdered sleepers, Treat and Moseley, with their men, proceeded to Deerfield. The command of Major Treat was composed partly of Mohegan and Pequot Indians, and all slept in the Deerfield garrison that night. In the morning, they returned to the scene of the previous day's action, but before they arrived, a few Indians were on the ground, engaged in stripping the slain. These fled, at the approach of the soldiers, and the latter proceeded to the melancholy task of burying the dead. While about this work, one Robert Dutch, of Ipswich, who was left for dead by both whites and Indians on the previous day, and from whose person every garment had been stripped, rose from the ground, his head and face covered with contusions and blood, and walked up to the soldiers, "to their no small amazement." He was then clothed, probably from the bodies of his dead companions, subsequently taken back to the garrison, and survived his supposed death for several years. Hubbard, in the religious spirit of his time, gives him this apostrophe: "May he be to the friends and relations of the rest of the slain an emblem of their more perfect resurrection at the last day, to receive their crowns among the rest of the martyrs that have laid down and ventured their lives, as a testimony to the truth of their religion, as well as love to their country."

This same old writer, to whom almost every subsequent historian has been indebted for the leading facts connected with this terrible affair, takes occasion to bestow no inconsiderable degree of blame upon Lathrop, and a proportionate degree of praise upon Moseley. So far as Lathrop was careless, and it is indisputable that he was so, he was undoubtedly in the blame. But Hubbard discusses the relative merits of the military policy of the two commanders. Lathrop's policy was to fight as the Indians fought—behind trees, and separately. To this policy the historian attributes the terrible slaughter that was made, on this occasion not only, but at the time Lathrop's action occurred with the fugitives from Hadley, near the same spot. Moseley's policy was that exhibited in his action—fighting in close order. The merits of the two systems are contrasted by the contrast of results. But it must be remembered that Lathrop's men, whatever may have been their action on the previous occasion alluded to, were, on this, crippled at the first onset, and while the Indians were fully prepared for action, they were entirely unprepared. Capt. Moseley, on coming to the ground, was prepared, and the enemy, in the very excitement of victory, and engaged in their indignities upon the slain, in a measure off their guard. That Moseley was the better soldier, is probable;

and that his was the better system of policy, is more than likely; but censure applied to Capt. Lathrop for the scattering of his company at Bloody Brook, seems unjust. Hoyt, who writes critically of the military operations of the times, is of this opinion, and Mr. Hubbard's censure will find few indorsers.

According to Hoyt, the precise spot where the massacre occurred was where the regular highway from South to Old Deerfield crosses Bloody Brook. A rude monument was erected near the spot some time after the occurrence, but time crumbled it, and nothing stood for many years to tell where fell the "Flower of Essex." But the residents of the locality could not always forget the precious blood in which their noble soil was baptized, and, accordingly, on the 30th of September, 1835, the inhabitants of Deerfield, Greenfield, Conway, Shelburne and Gill celebrated the anniversary of the sad event. A committee had previously been appointed to ascertain the precise spot, if possible, where in one grave Major Treat and Capt. Moseley buried the slain. This committee were successful in attaining the object of their search. On digging down, the bones were found. They "were much decayed, or rather changed to terrene substances, still retaining their primitive forms, yet easily crumbled to dust by pressure of the fingers." The celebration of the day was signalized by the laying of the corner stone of a marble monument, and by an eloquent address by Hon. Edward Everett. The monument which rose upon this corner stone is twenty-six feet high, and has become a familiar object to passengers through the Connecticut Valley. It stands a few rods North of the grave, on the East side of the road, and in the vicinity of the brook. Gen. Hoyt of Deerfield, the able historian of the Indian wars, was present at the laying of the corner stone, and made a brief address. It was well that one whose name will always be honorably associated with the Indian history of the Valley should be a spectator of, and an active participant in, the occasion. The scene presented on the day of celebration was one of great interest. People flocked in from all the towns around, and many came from a great distance, to be witnesses of the ceremonials. But the red men were not there—the forest had passed away, and peace, happiness, plenty and security reigned on every hand. It was not marvelous that the orator, seeing and feeling the change, and recalling the memory of those brave men who won with blood the pleasant fields around, and planted with noble toil the institutions enjoyed by their successors, should, in his rapt peroration, have exclaimed:

"Oh that we could call them back to see the work of their hands! Oh, that our poor strains of gratitude could penetrate their tombs! Oh, that we could quicken into renewed consciousness the brave and precious dust that moulders beneath our feet! Oh, that they could rise up in the midst of us—the hopeful, the valiant, the self-devoted—and graciously accept these humble offices of commemoration! But, though they tasted not the fruit, they shall not lose the praise of their sacrifice and toils. I read in your eyes that they shall not be defrauded of their renown. This mighty concourse bears witness to the emotions of a grateful posterity. Yon simple monument shall rise, a renewed memorial of their names. On this sacred spot, where the young, the brave, the patriotic, poured out their life-blood in defense of that heritage which has descended to us, we this day solemnly bring our tribute of gratitude. Ages shall pass away; the majestic tree which overshadows us shall wither and sink before the blast, and we who are now gathered beneath it shall mingle with the honored dust we eulogize; but the "Flower of Essex" shall bloom in undying remembrance; and with every century these rites of commemoration shall be repeated, as the lapse of time shall continually develop, in richer abundance, the fruits of what was done and suffered by our fathers."

The following is the inscription upon the tablet of the monument at Bloody Brook:

"On this ground, Capt. THOMAS LATHROP and eighty men under his command, including eighteen teamsters from Deerfield, conveying stores from that town to Hadley, were ambushed by about 700 Indians, and the captain and seventy-six men slain, September 18th, 1675, (old style.)

"The soldiers who fell were described by a cotemporary historian as a choice company of young men, the very flower of the County of Essex, none of whom were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the gate."

'And Sanguinetto tells you where the dead
Made the earth wet, and turned the unwilling waters red.'

"The grave of the slain is marked by a stone slab, 21 rods South of this monument."

Above the inscription are engraved the following words: "*Erected, August*, 1838." The slab referred to in the inscription bears the simple memorial: "*Grave of Capt. Lathrop and men slain by the Indians*, 1675." It is, perhaps, a little singular, that only about sixty of the names of those slain have been preserved in the archives of the State, and that Dr. Increase Mather speaks of the burial of "about sixty persons in one grave." This, in connection with the fact that so large a number as ninety men were slain, seventy-six of whom were soldiers, is a remarkable coincidence. It would seem not improbable that the teamsters who were residents of the region were taken home for burial, and a portion of the soldiers transported to adjacent plantations. This, however, is conjecture. The names of the slain, as recorded, are as follow:—

Capt. Thomas Laythrop, Sergeant Thomas Smith, Samuel Stevens, John Hobs, Ipswich; Daniel Button, Salem; John Harriman, Thomas Bayley, Ezekiel Sawier, Salem; Jacob Kilborne, Thomas Manning, Ipswich; Jacob Waynwritt, Ipswich; Benjamin Roper do.; John Bennett, Manchester; Thomas Menter, Caleb Kimball, Ipswich; Thomas Hobs, Ipswich; Robert Homes, Edward Traske, Salem; Richard Lambert, Salem; Josiah Dodge, Beverly; Peter Woodberry, Beverly; Joseph Balch, Beverly; Samuel Whitteridge, Ipswich; William Dew, Sergeant Samuel Stevens, Samuel Crumpton, John Plum, Thomas Buckley, Salem; George Ropes, Salem; Joseph King, Thomas Alexander, Francis Friende, Abel Oseph, John Litheate, Samuel Hudson, Adam Clarke, Ephraim Fearah, Robert Wilson, Salem; Stephen Wellman, Salem; Benjamin Farnell, Solomon Alley, Lynn; John Merrik, Robert Hinsdall, Samuel Hinsdall, Barnabas Hinsdall, John Hinsdall, Joseph Gilbert, John Allin, Manchester; Joshua Carter, Manchester; John Barnard, James Tufts, Salem; Jonathan Plympton, Philip Barsham, Thomas Weller, William Smeade, Zebediah Williams, Eliakim Marshall, James Mudge, George Cole.

These names, mis-spelt in many instances, and clumsily arranged, are the only record we have of those who thus laid down their lives in the service of the early plantations of the Connecticut Valley. Capt. Lathrop was one of the early settlers of the colony, and was sixty-five years old when he died. His wife was one of the "eight persons made widows" by the massacre, but he left no children.

The direction of military operations among the Connecticut River settlements was vested in the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who, being at a distance from the scene of operations, indiscreetly left little to the discretion of the officers in command. This fact is evident from the letters of the latter to the Governor of Massachusetts, from which it appears that after the destruction of Capt. Lathrop and his men at Bloody Brook, the commissioners ordered that the towns should be left without garrison, in order to augment the field force. There grew up at this time some disaffection in the Connecticut Government, in regard to certain matters connected with the war, and a consequent embarrassment to the effective and free movements of the troops from that colony. The troops, in all, by the agreement of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth, were to number 500. The latter Government had failed to send any troops, and the entire number was furnished by Massachusetts and Connecticut alone. This was apparently the cause of the disaffection of Connecticut, and as the whole number was insufficient at best, that disaffection was the more severely felt. Major Treat, who had had the direction of the Connecticut troops at Hadley, and more or less, by courtesy, of the Massachusetts troops, went down the river to Westfield, for what special purpose does not appear. It is not apparent that Major Pynchon, the commander of the Hampshire regiment, had had thus far either much direction of, or much participation in the campaign. In fact, the commissioners seem to have exercised such a degree of authority, that but little was left to the independent action of the commanders. Major Pynchon, however, had the control of military operations among the lower settlements, while Treat generally directed affairs above.

After the departure of Major Treat from Hadley, either under the order of the commissioners, or by the combined decision of the Hadley commanders on the ground, and Major Pynchon, it was determined to go out in force to make a demonstration against the Indians, then supposed to be hovering in large numbers around the frontier plantations on the North. The policy of the Indians, thus far, was, apparently, to sweep the plantations from the North downwards. Northfield and Deerfield had fallen, and Hatfield, Hadley and Northampton were the next in course. In the meantime, the Indians, with the cunning which characterized them, took measures to surprise the settlement which least expected it. In the meantime, too, the Springfield Indians, who had thus far been at perfect peace with the whites, stimulated by the course of events at the North, and anticipating the final triumph of the tribes, began to manifest a treacherous tendency. One or two buildings were burnt at Springfield, but the inhabitants, who had lived so peaceably with the Indians for nearly forty years, could not attribute the incendiarism to its real source. Still, suspicion was awakened. The people of the town repaired and strengthened their fortified houses so as to be prepared for an emergency, and then questioned the Indians, of whom they succeeded in obtaining hostages for their good behavior, and these were sent to Hartford for safe keeping. The Indians then, having laid their plans, went secretly to Hartford, and enticed away the hostages, who had not been guarded with sufficient strictness. This was on the night of the 4th of October, and on the same night, 300 of Philip's Indians who, shunning the plantations, had made their way through the woods to Springfield, from the North, were admitted into the fort at Long Hill. On the morning of this day, the Springfield soldiers, to the number of 45, left Springfield for Hadley, to join in the demonstration contemplated at that point, thus leaving the town unprotected by any sufficient force. Living in the family of a Mr. Wolcott at Windsor, was an Indian named Toto, and on the evening in which these hostile preparations were in progress, he appeared much agitated. By the passage of the Indians between Hartford and Springfield, at the time the hostages were drawn away from the former town, he had been made acquainted with the designs of the Indians, and the possession of the terrible secret made his emotions uncontrollable. He was questioned, and discovered the fact that the Indians at Springfield, with some of Philip's forces, were about to burn that town and destroy its inhabitants. The dispatch of a messenger to the doomed town was immediately effected. He arrived at the dead hour of night, and gave the alarm. The tidings were carried from house to house.

Men and women leaped from their beds, the children were clothed with such haste as circumstances demanded, and then all fled, with such valuables and necessaries as they could carry, to the fortified houses. A post was dispatched to Major Pynchon, at Hadley, giving him information of the plot, and requesting his immediate assistance.

Within the fortified houses, three in number, the terrified inhabitants impatiently awaited the light of morning. The morning came, but no Indians, and no apparent cause of alarm. The sun rose higher, but disclosed no foe. The inconvenience of their situation, and the terror of suspense, at last induced Lieut. Thomas Cooper, whose name has already become familiar in the history of the town, and Thomas Miller, to mount their horses, and proceed towards the Indian fort. Both these men were in the decline of life, and both were brave. Cooper, in the absence of Major Pynchon, was the first in military command. They reached the woods which then skirted the lower end of Main street, when their course was stopped by the discharge of musketry from the ambushed foe, and Miller fell dead. Cooper, too, received a mortal wound, but being a strong man, he clung to his horse, which wheeled and galloped homeward, bearing his dying burden, until he reached the first fortified house, where his rider fell at the door and expired. Upon this confirmation of the worst fears of the inhabitants, the warriors of Philip crowded closely, and the town was immediately swarming with the murderous horde. The buildings were rifled, and the torches applied to them, and safe in their fortifications, the inhabitants saw their hard-earned property, and their only shelter from the approaching winter, consuming in fierce flames, and smoking in ruin. About thirty dwelling houses were burned down, and some twenty-five barns, with the hay and grain which had been laid up for the Winter's stores. The corn mill and saw mill of Mr. Pynchon were also destroyed. But the Indians could produce but little impression upon the fortified houses. In the course of the day they managed to wound four or five persons, and killed one woman—Pentecost Matthews—and during this period the terrified villagers awaited the coming of the troops from the North. About the middle of the day, Major Treat, then at Westfield, appeared with his force on the Western bank of the river. He, too, with the Hadley forces, had been reached by a night post. But the river opposed his further progress. The inhabitants sent off five men to take over a boat. Their departure was perceived, and four times their number of Indians instantly pursued them. They reached their boat and pushed off, under a hot fire from the enemy. One poor fellow—David Morgan—received a shot through the neck. The boat reached the opposite shore, and was filled with soldiers for the return. But the Indians stood in force upon the Eastern bank, ready to receive them, and amused themselves by firing at them across the river. It was found impossible to cross in this way, and with the small number of men that must go at a time, and so all assistance was cut off from this source. A few hours after this, Major Pynchon and Capt. Appleton arrived from Hadley, with a force of two hundred men, and found the town in ruins, with the exception of a few houses, which were doubtless saved from destruction by their arrival. As the troops came in, the Indians retired, and then Major Treat and his command crossed the river, and the two forces occupied the town during the night, with the exception of scouting parties sent off to discover where the Indians lodged, and what course they had taken—a mission in which they were unsuccessful. Subsequently, an old squaw was taken who gave information that the Indians on retiring from Springfield lodged that night about six miles from the place, that the exact number of Philip's Indians present on the occasion was 270, and that the whole number of the enemy, including the Springfield Indians, was 600. Men were dispatched to the spot indicated as their camp. They found twenty-four fires and some plunder, but the Indians had gone, none knew whither.

The inhabitants were thus left houseless and almost penniless. There were no mills to grind their corn, or to saw stuffs for new dwellings, and in deep discouragement, they came near abandoning the settlement, and leaving their estates as the settlers at the North had done. Major Pynchon was much disheartened. The accumulations of a life-time had been swept away, and it is not unlikely that the graceless return which the Indians had made for all his kindness had an effect upon his mind. His were the buildings destroyed previous to the general conflagration.

He felt, too, the weight of the responsibility that was upon him, in his position as the leading man of the town. Mr. Glover, the minister, lost one of the most valuable private libraries that New England then contained. Hubbard calls it a "brave library." This he had but a short time before removed from one of the fortified houses, to which he had carried it for safety. But, "being impatient for want of his books, he brought them back, to his great sorrow, fit for the bonfire for the proud, insulting enemy." Perhaps nothing will more perfectly exhibit the state of feeling into which the disaster threw Major Pynchon, than extracts from letters written by him at that time. The following is taken from his letter to Governor Leverett, written from Springfield under date of October 8th:

> "Our people are under great discouragement—talk of leaving the place. We need your orders and directions about it. If it be deserted, how wofully do we yield to, and encourage, our insolent enemy, and how doth it make way for the giving up of all the towns above. If it be held, it must be by strength and many soldiers, and how to have provision—I mean bread—for want of a mill, is difficult. The soldiers here already complain on that account, although we have flesh enough. And this very strait—I mean no meal, will drive many of our inhabitants away, especially those that have no corn, and many of them no houses, which fills and throngs up every room of those that have, together with the soldiers now (which yet we cannot be without,) increasing our numbers, so that indeed it is very uncomfortable living here, and for my own particular, it would be far better for me to go away, because here I have not anything left,—I mean no corn, neither Indian nor English, and no means to keep one beast here; nor can I have release in this town because so many are destitute. But I resolve to attend what God calls me to, and to stick to it as long as I can, and though I have such great loss of my comforts, yet to do what I can for defending the place. I hope God will make up in himself what is wanting in the creature, to me and to us all.
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> "This day a post is sent up from Hartford to call off Major Treate, with a part of his soldiers, from intelligence they have of a party of Indians lying at Wethersfield, on the East side of the river, so that matters of action here do linger exceedingly, which makes me wonder what the Lord intends with his people. Strange providences, diverting us in all our hopeful designs, and the Lord giving opportunity to the enemy to do us mischief, and then hideing of them, and

answering all our prayers by terrible things in righteousness.

"Sir, I am incapable of holding my command, being more and more unfit, and almost confounded in my understanding. The Lord direct you to pitch on a meeter person than ever I was. According to liberty from the Council, I shall devolve all upon Capt. Appleton, unless Major Treat shall return again, when you shall give your orders as shall be most meet to yourselves.

"To speak my thoughts, all these towns ought to be garrisoned, as I have formerly hinted, and had I been left to myself, should, I think, have done that which might possibly have prevented this damage, but the express order to do as I did, was by the wise disposing hand of God, who knew it best for us, and therein we must acquiesce. And truly to go out after the Indians in the swamps and thickets, is to hazard all our men, unless we knew where they keep, which is altogether unknown to us, and God hides from us for ends best known to himself. We are in great hazard, if we do but go out for wood, to be shot down by some skulking Indians."

The deep religious spirit with which Mr. Pynchon regarded his calamities is evidenced further in a letter written on the 20th of October, to his son Joseph, in London. It cannot be that the many descendants of this noble man, now in New England, or the multitude in Western Massachusetts who are reaping the reward of his toils and trials, will regard with indifference a production so fatherly and Christianly, and it is given entire.

"SPRINGFIELD, Oct. 20, 1675.

"*Dear Son Joseph:*—The sore contending of God with us for our sins, unthankfulness for former mercies, and unfaithfulness under our precious enjoyments, hath evidently demonstrated that he is very angry with this country, God having given the heathen a large commission to destroy. And exceeding havoc have they made in this country, destroying two or three small places above Northampton and Hadley, and lately they have fallen upon Springfield, and almost ruined it by burning of houses. About 30 or 32 dwelling houses are burnt down, and some twenty five barns, full of corn and hay. The Lord hath spared my dwelling house,* but my barns and out-housing are all burned down, and all my corn and hay consumed; and not anything have I left of food, either for man or beast. All my mills, both corn and saw mills, are burnt down. Those at home, in this town, and also those I had in other places; and four of those houses and barns to them, which were burnt in this towne, belongeth to me also. So that God hath laid me low. My farmers are also undone, and many in this towne that were in my debt, utterly disabled, so that I am really reduced to greate straites.

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*The late old brick "fort," or the "old Pynchon House."

"But it is the Lord's good pleasure it should be so, and He is most just and righteous; yea, in very faithfulness hath he done it for the good of my soule. I have not the least cause to murmur and repine at the wise dispose of a gracious God and loving Father, but desire to acquiesce in his good pleasure, and to lie at his foote in holy submission to his blessed will.

"This Providence, and the state of this country in reference to this Indian war, afford matter of consideration in reference to your coming over, which I have much desired and wrote to you for; but now shall leave you at your liberty, not having ground or seeing cause to press you upon it, further than you shall yourself see reason for it. Though I and your mother should be exceeding glad to see you, yet, as tymes are, question whether it be best to come over yet (I mean now); and how God may dispose of us I know not. We are yet here at Springfield—my house garrisoned with soldiers, and full of troubles and hurrys. The Lord help us to remember our peace and quietness, and truly to lament our abuse thereof, and heartily and really to turn to himself by unfeigned repentance. The Lord is in earnest with us, and truly he expects our being in earnest in returning to himselfe.

"Oh, dear Son! How sweet is an interest in Christ Jesus in these distracting tymes! They are trying tymes, and it is good, knowing in whom we have believed. Treasure in heaven is abiding, when the greatest earthly enjoyments may soon fail us, and come to nothing. Let us, therefore, while we have them so use them, as using them sitting loose from them, and being contented to part with all when God calls for it. In the improving of the creature, to sit loose from it, is a sweete and blessed frame, for I know it is a duty to look after, and manage what God hath given us, and in that respect I may call on you to doe your best, in a way of prudence, to sell your estate in England, and in it advise with Mr. Wickens and brother Smith [Henry Smith, Major Pynchon's brother-in-law, who returned to England in 1652] who I know will afford the best help they can, and doe as you are able. I am not able to afford you any helpe, but by my prayers, which I am always putting up for you; and as God shall enable, I shall be ready to do my utmost for you otherwise. The Lord in mercy be good to you and us. How he may deal with us

I know not. Where his providence may cast me, whether to Boston or further, or whether I may live to get out of this place, it is only with himself, and on that strong rod I desire to depend for salvation, here and hereafter. I am in straits and hurrys, and may only add mine and your mother's endeared love and affection to you, with hearty wishes and prayers for you. I commend you to the grace of God in Christ Jesus, and am your affectionately loving father,

JOHN PYNCHON

"(P S.) *Dear Son.*—I would not have you troubled at these sad losses which I have met with. There is no reason for a child to be troubled when his father calls in that which he lent him. It was the Lord that lent it to me, and he that gave it hath taken it away, and blessed be the name of the Lord. He hath done very well for me, and I acknowledge his goodness, and desire to trust in Him and submit to Him forever. And doe you, with me, acknowledge and justify Him."

Admirable man! Noble father! Christ's grace-informed disciple! In thy distracted bosom, crushed by disaster; in thy heart brimming with love to God, and tender with sweetest affections; in thy reverent spirit, bowed with lowliest humiliation, yet strong in holiest trust; in thy soul where every Christian grace sprang to new life by the sweet nourishment of tears, thy wealth—thy truest wealth—was left;—a better legacy to posterity than gold or lands; possessions more to be coveted than crowns and empires!

The destruction of Springfield threw the towns above, viz: Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, into the most profound distress and alarm. The plantations North of them had been cut off, Springfield was in ashes, and they knew that their turn must come next. Major Treat had been recalled, the very flower of the colonial forces on the field had been cut off, Major Pynchon, the foremost man in the settlements, and one in whose wisdom they had always placed the greatest confidence, had resigned his command, the Connecticut troops that remained hardly knew how they had a right to act in the absence of their commander, and all lacked confidence in the policy of the Commissioners. Rev. John Russell of Hadley, wrote to Governor Leverett, representing the condition of things. He wrote during the absence of the troops who had gone to Springfield, when he said the town was alone:—"The men in these towns, who before trembled at the order that none should be left in garrison when the army went out, are now much more distressed at the thoughts of it as looking at themselves, thereby exposed to inevitable ruin at their enemy's assault, which we might expect. Especially the town of Hadley is now likely to drink next, if mercy prevent not, of the same bitter cup. We are but about fifty families, and now left solitary." Mr. Russell urged upon the Governor the necessity of furnishing each town with a sufficient garrison, and suggested that either Major Pynchon or Capt. Appleton, or both, should be empowered to direct the towns in their system of fortifications.

It is proper here to allude, in greater detail, to the circumstances under which Major Pynchon resigned his commission, for they have generally been misunderstood. It has been supposed that the affliction he met with in the destruction of his property, was the cause of his resignation. Such is not the fact. From a letter of the Massachusetts Council to him, written Sept. 15th, 1675, it appears that he had resigned previous to that date. One of the causes will appear in the following words of the Council: "You are the chief military officer in the county where you have your habitation, interest and concerns, and where by Divine Providence, a considerable part of the stress of this war is at present; you have able and judicious persons under you, that will assist you in Council and action. Your plea *concerning your sense of the lashes of the tongues of men against you*, and that spirit of opposing rulers which much shows itself among us, it is matter of grief and discouragement, but it is no otherwise than Aaron, David and divers others of the servants of God have met with." The Council did not accept his resignation. Gov. Leverett wrote him a letter Sept. 24th, still declining to discharge him. On the 30th of the same month, Major Pynchon wrote to the Council again, entreating that he might be discharged, giving as a reason the great anxieties of his wife on his account, and it is by no means improbable that those anxieties were the real basis of his entire course of action in the premises. Another letter of Major Pynchon has been preserved in the archives of the State, which, bearing neither date nor signature, was evidently written early after the destruction of his property. It was addressed to the Council, and in it he says: "My sad state of affairs at home will necessitate your discharging me, and truly I am so full of trouble and overwhelmed with it, that I cannot act ——— business. I beseech you, do not expose me to those temptations which will overwhelm me if you do not discharge me. I would not willingly sin against God nor offend you, and entreat you to ease me of my pressures." It is a singular fact that, "on account of his importunity," he was discharged the very day Springfield was burnt, and that while he was writing his letters after that date, begging for his discharge, he was no longer in office. The welcome bearer of the dispatch had not then reached him.

Major Pynchon was thus relieved of his command, and allowed to remain with his distressed flock at Springfield; and, after strengthening the garrisons of the place, Capt. Samuel Appleton, upon whom the command was devolved, returned to Hadley, with the most of the forces, on the 12th of October—eight days after the sad disaster at Springfield had transpired. On arriving at Hadley, two days were spent in sending out scouts to discover the lurking-places of the enemy, but the scouts, with the fearful memories of the locality upon them, were timid, and accomplished nothing. Perplexed with his orders to leave no men in garrison, but to use all for a field army, embarrassed by the absence of Major Treat, and the responsibilities of his new command, Capt. Appleton hardly knew which way to turn. He finally concluded that he would go forth in full force on a hostile expedition against the enemy, and on the 14th, ordered Capt. Moseley, who, with his company, was then at Hatfield, and Capt. Seeley, stationed at Northampton with a company of Connecticut troops, to repair forthwith to Head Quarters, and report themselves ready for service. Capt. Moseley and his men were on the ground almost immediately, but Capt. Seeley, after some delay, reported himself without his company, declaring that he held no commission, and could not act. Capt. Appleton dispatched a note to Hartford, and explained how everything was obstructed by the absence of Major Treat. The reply to this missive was received on the 16th, in which the Hartford Council referred to the absence of the Plymouth troops, which, by agreement, should be on the ground; and for reasons connected with this state of things, excused their inaction.

After dispatching his letter to Hartford, Capt. Appleton drew forth his men, leaving a company of 60 in garrison under Capt. Sill, intending to march to Northfield, but they had hardly got out of Hadley before intelligence reached them that the tracks of the enemy had been discovered in great numbers on the opposite side of the river. The force immediately crossed the river, but the day was past, and they hardly succeeded in getting out of Hatfield before nightfall. They started for Deerfield, and proceeded several miles, when the discharge of a gun was heard, and the noise of Indians. This brought the force to a halt, and the officers to consultation. Capt. Appleton was for proceeding, but Capt. Moseley was for returning, believing that, as soon as they were fairly away, the Indians would fall upon Hatfield and Hadley. Capt. Moseley's opinions and a threatening storm decided the question, and the army took the backward track. On the 17th, great numbers of the enemy were reported at Deerfield, and some of them much nearer, and, on the same day, a communication was received from Hartford, making it very uncertain when the Connecticut forces would again be available. In the evening of the same day, the people of Northampton sent over for help, in addition to Capt. Seeley and his fifty men, as they were much in fear of being assaulted. The enemy had then been discovered within a mile of Hatfield, and, at midnight, the Hadley forces were pushed across the river. But they "wearied themselves with a tedious night and morning's march, without making any discovery of the enemy."

Nothing can represent more fully the perplexity under which Capt. Appleton labored, in consequence of the policy and orders of the Commissioners, than his unsteady action at this time. This policy was directly at war with the common sense of every man on the field of operations. "In very truth," says Capt. Appleton to Governor Leverett, writing on the 17th, "I am in straits on every side. To leave the towns without any help, is to leave them to apparent ruin. To supply with any now in the absence of Connecticut, is hardly reconcilable with the order of the Commissioners.

Whether the Council at Hartford reconsidered their action, does not appear, but the fact is recorded that Major Treat had arrived at Northampton on the 19th, with a considerable force, for the protection of that town. At that date, Capt. Appleton was at Hadley with one company, while, in consequence of the more exposed situation of the place, Hatfield was garrisoned by two companies, respectively under the command of Captain Moseley and Captain Poole. At this date, too, when the forces were well arranged for resistance, the enemy came, to the number of 700 or 800, and fell upon Hatfield, being able by their overwhelming numbers to make their attack in every quarter. Previous to the onset, they had cut off the scouts that had been sent out to communicate warning of their approach, and it is probable that the attack was in some measure a surprise. Poole and his men entered into a spirited defense of one extremity, while the veteran Moseley dealt death to the enemy in the center. Capt. Appleton, with the Hadley forces, was soon on the ground, and engaged the foe at the other extremity. The fight was a desperate and spirited one, but numbers on the side of the Indians proved no match for superior discipline, arms, and skill on the part of the English. The enemy were repulsed at every point. The engagement took place just at the close of the day, and the enemy had been entertained so hotly that they retired in great haste and confusion, only having had time to burn a few barns and other out-buildings, and drive off a number of cattle. Capt. Appleton's sergeant—Freegrace Norton—was mortally wounded by his side, "another bullet passing through his own hair, by that whisper telling him that death was very near." The names of those killed were Thomas Meekins, Nathaniel Collins, Richard Stone, Samuel Clarke, John Pocock, Thomas Warner, Abram Quiddington, William Olverton, and John Petts. The loss of the Indians must have been considerable, though the fall of night upon their retreat, and their scrupulous adherence to the custom of carrying off their dead, made it impossible to ascertain how great. Some were driven through Mill River, and in their attempts to carry off their dead, either purposely or accidentally dropped their guns into the river, and there left them, with the hope, probably, of ultimately reclaiming them.

During all these secret movements and spirited operations of the Indians, it is a singular fact that Philip was either never seen or never recognized. That he was the reigning genius of the war, that he directed in all the important movements of the Indians, and that the malicious policy of the savages had its source and center in him, there was no doubt; but the history of his daily life during this eventful period is, and must forever be, unwritten. The dread of the English and the right arm of their foes, no bullet reached him, and no marksman's eye detected him, but his was the controlling voice at the council fire, his the leading step in every night and forest-covered expedition, and his the signal for those terrific visitations of savage force that devoted large bodies of the English to slaughter, or laid in waste their helpless villages.

It was now among the last days of October—quite November, in fact, reckoning time by the Gregorian calendar, not then adopted, and an early Winter was coming rapidly down upon the Valley. Discouraged by the poor success attending their attack upon Hatfield, and furnished with insignificant supplies, Philip's Wampanoags took their way through the forest to the Narraganset country, and, during all the Winter, Philip's presence was never ascertained to be among them. Some imagined that he had gone West, to engage allies in the region of the Hudson river. One writer reports him to have been within forty miles of Albany during the Winter, with 400 or 500 Indians, and himself so disabled by sickness that the Hadley chief, who was present, took the command of the force. But his directing mind and implacable spirit were nevertheless apparent. The river Indians mostly remained upon the river, but, during the Winter, made no serious demonstrations. Soon after the attack on Hatfield, a number of the inhabitants of Northampton went into the field to secure some of their corn, when, having left their arms under their cart, they were surprised by the approach of a party of Indians, but made good their escape. The alarm called out Major Treat, but before he could come up with them, they had succeeded in burning seven or eight buildings that stood a little out of the town, and in getting beyond his reach. A few days subsequently, Thomas Salmon, Joseph Baker and Joseph Baker Jr., were killed in the meadow, and the Indians attempted to burn the mill, "but it was too well guarded by two files of musketeers lodged there for the purpose, who put them beside their intent." Springfield, in consequence of the destruction of its corn mill, was obliged to resort to the neighboring plantation of Westfield, to get its corn ground. Rev. Mr. Taylor, the minister at that place, says in the records kept by him: "Our soil was moistened by the blood of three Springfield men—young Goodman Dumbleton and two sons of Goodman Brooks, who came here to look for iron ore on land bought of Mr. J. Pynchon, who accompanied them, but they fell in the way by the first assault of the enemy." This occurred just after the murders at Northampton, and, at the same time, the Indians burnt in Westfield the house of a Mr. Cornish, and John Sackett's house and barn, with their contents. A Mr. Granger was seriously wounded in the same affair. Around Springfield, the Indians were hovering in squads all the Winter, awaiting opportunity to cut off such stragglers as might present themselves. During this period, the settlers at the Long Meadow were deprived of the privilege of attending meetings at their only place of worship in Springfield, for the Indians were skulking in every quarter. On the last Sabbath of the following March, it being the 26th of the month, they came to the determination to attempt a visit to their much loved sanctuary. They numbered eighteen—men, women and children—and had proceeded as far as Pecowsic brook, accompanied by a small guard, when they were assaulted by a band of eight savages, and John Keep, his wife, and their infant child, were killed, and several others wounded. Mr. Keep was at that time a prominent man in the town, and held the office of selectman. Accounts of this affair differ somewhat materially. Maj. Savage, at that time having his Head Quarters at Hadley, wrote a letter to the Council two days after the occurrence, in which he says the Indians "killed a man and a maid, wounded two men, and carried away captive two women and two children." He then goes on to say that he co-operated with Major Pynchon in giving them chase, and their force of horse coming up with them, the Indians immediately killed the two children, very badly wounded the women with their hatchets, and escaped into the swamp. One of the women at that time lay senseless with her wounds, and it is probable that she was the wife of Mr. Keep, and that one of the children killed belonged to her. The guard which accompanied the party were openly flouted as cowards. The Council in a letter to Major Savage declared it a great shame, and "humbling to us," while a rhymester of the day celebrated their lack of bravery in the following couplet:

> "Seven Indians, and one without a gun,
> Caused Capt. Nixon and forty men to run.'

About this time, a Springfield man, going across the river to look after his corn and his house, located there, was shot down by the Indians, who then burnt his house. Among the last days of Winter, Westfield suffered again. Indians were discovered in the vicinity, and a scout was sent out to ascertain their locality and numbers. Instead of two or three individuals going out, to fulfill the intentions of the scout, ten or twelve went out fully armed, and, discovering the enemy, fell upon them, and received a fire in return which killed Moses Cook, one of the planters, and a soldier who was probably stationed in garrison there.

It will have been seen that the people of Springfield, notwithstanding the deep distress into which they were thrown by the burning of their town, still occupied their settlement. That they did not break up, and retire to a safer locality, was attributable to a positive order of the General Court, which very wisely interfered to prevent a step so disastrous in itself, and in its effects. The order was a general one, but was uttered, doubtless, with reference to the particular case of Springfield. The Winter of 1675–76 was a very mild one, and providentially no suffering was experienced from lack of food. Though the organized and powerful hostilities of the Indians were suspended, the inhabitants of the river towns felt that the storm had not yet passed away, and during the lull which the Winter afforded, they busied themselves in the construction of fortifications, about their plantations and houses. These were necessarily rude, and consisted of posts of cleft wood, set in the ground, forming little more than a strong fence, and hardly a sufficient barrier against common musketry. Some of the towns or villages were entirely inclosed by these palisades, and, weak as they were, they afterwards proved formidable to the enemy, for, though easy to enter in case of an attack, they were hard to escape from in the confusion of retreat. After the completion of these works, the troops at Hadley were called off to Connecticut and the East, a sufficient number only being left to garrison the several towns.

In the Eastern part of the colony, operations against the Indians were continued. Captain Henchman was sent out from Boston against some Indian lodges at Mendon, and other places in the vicinity, but, besides recovering a captive, burning some corn, and proving the shame of cowardice upon his company, he accomplished nothing, while he lost two of his men. It had been ascertained that a number of the Narragansets were present at the operations on the Connecticut River, during the previous autumn, and the professions of friendship received from the sachem were known to be treacherous. Accordingly, the Commissioners of the United Colonies determined upon attacking them in their strong-hold, which occupied a swamp in the present town of South Kingston, R. I. It was resolved to raise a force of one thousand men, of which Massachusetts was to furnish 527, Connecticut 315, and Plymouth 158,—the Massachusetts troops to be commanded by Major Samuel Appleton, the Connecticut troops by Major Treat, and the Plymouth troops by Governor Winslow, the latter being the commander-in-chief. Captain Moseley was among the Massachusetts Captains, and Captain Seeley, formerly stationed at Northampton, commanded a Connecticut company. On the way to the enemy's country, Capt. Moseley surprised and captured thirty-six of the enemy, and other companies succeeded in killing and capturing several, and in burning 150 cabins. Moseley's life was particularly sought for by the desperate savages met upon the way, but he escaped, and was placed forward in leading the way to the fort. The army was exposed to great hardships, from the snow and cold, and from the destruction by fire of buildings they had intended to make their head quarters. On the 19th, the fort was reached, and attacked, and after a bloody struggle, captured. The slaughter of Indian warriors was terrible, not less than 700 being slain, and 300 mortally wounded. The wigwams, to the number of several hundred, were fired, and in them, and among the flames, miserably perished hundreds of women and children, while the wounded warriors were seen broiling and roasting in the fires. The whole number of Indians in the fort at the commencement of the attack was about four thousand, and those who were fortunate enough to escape from the bullet and the fire, fled into the adjacent cedar swamp, and passed the night as they could, and a terrible night it must have been. Nearly two hundred troops were killed and wounded, and many of the latter, who had not received wounds necessarily mortal, died in consequence of an immediate march of sixteen miles to Pettyquamscot, in a snow-storm. The struggle was particularly fatal to the captains, who necessarily led their men, and received the first fatal fire from the enemy. Among the eight captains killed, or mortally wounded, was Capt. Seeley of Connecticut.

The forces were not entirely drawn off from the Narraganset country, but remained, and succeeded in cutting off many stragglers, and in destroying the stores of the enemy. In the meantime, the principal part of the Narragansets had fled, and joined themselves to the Nipmucks, the Connecticut River Indians, and the other allies of Philip about Deerfield and Northfield. Still there were large numbers of Indians at the East, and on the 10th of February they fell upon Lancaster, and killed and captured 42 people, out of the fifty that the town contained. In the latter part of February, Mendon was burnt, and twenty inhabitants killed. Subsequently, several buildings were burned in Weymouth, and soon afterwards Groton, Marlborough and Warwick (near Providence) were destroyed. About this time, Capt. Pierce of Scituate, with his force of fifty men, after slaying one hundred of the enemy, was cut down with the loss of nearly every man. A short time after this, seventy houses and barns were burnt at Rehoboth, and thirty houses at Providence. There was a massacre also of eleven persons at Plymouth. On the 18th of April, Sudbury was partly burned, and a relief force from Concord was ambushed and slain. Captains Wadsworth and Brocklebank, with a considerable force, were at this time on the march for the protection of Marlborough, but turning from their route to look after the Indians about Sudbury, fell into an ambuscade, and nearly their whole force was massacred. Several towns in the Plymouth colony then suffered more or less considerable ravages of the enemy. On the 27th of March, a body composed of volunteers from Connecticut, accompanied by a number of friendly Indians, penetrated the Narraganset country, under Captains Dennison and Avery. At this time, Conanchet, the sachem of the tribe, who, after the destruction of his fort, had fled to Northfield, returned to secure some seed-corn with which he proposed to plant the meadows on the Connecticut that had been forsaken by the whites. His party were fallen in with by the Connecticut volunteers, and himself captured. After rejecting the offer of his life, if he would make peace with the English, he was put to death, and died as worthily as his father, the implacable Miantonomo, could have wished. This Connecticut force did very important service to the frontier towns of Massachusetts and Plymouth during their stay in the country, fairly driving the Indians out of the region. They captured in all about two hundred and thirty Indians, took fifty muskets, and one hundred and sixty bushels of corn, and, during all these operations, lost hardly a man. It was the best managed body of troops that had thus far engaged in the war. The dispersion of the Indians in that quarter became, of course, the cause of their concentration to a considerable extent upon the Connecticut, and to this region the scene of war returns.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1676—KING PHILIP'S WAR CONTINUED AND CONCLUDED.

EARLY in the Spring of 1676, Major Thomas Savage, with several new companies of Massachusetts troops, and Major Treat of Connecticut, with a force from that colony, joined at Brookfield, and after a few unimportant skirmishes with the enemy, proceeded to Hadley, where the presence of the former has already been incidentally alluded to. Their troops were distributed as follows: In Hadley, one Connecticut company, and two Massachusetts companies, respectively under the command of Capt. Whipple, and Capt. Gilman, all being under Major Savage; at Northampton, two Connecticut companies, with Capt. William Turner's company of Massachusetts troops, under Major Treat; and at Hatfield, the indefatigable and gallant Moseley, with his company and a company of Connecticut troops. Soon after taking up their quarters, evidences were not lacking to show that active service was at hand. In the morning twilight of the 14th of March, a large body of Indians made a furious attack upon Northampton. The palisades that had been erected during the Winter, offered but feeble resistance to them, and were broken through in three places. But after they had succeeded in firing ten buildings, killing Robert Bartlett, Thomas Holton, two other men, and two women, and wounding several in addition, they were repulsed by the spirited operations of Major Treat and his troops, and fled in confusion into the woods. In a letter to the Council, written March 28th, by Rev. John Russell of Hadley, the Indians are said to have "burnt five houses and five barns —one within the fortification"—and to have slain "five persons and wounded five." The same authority states that about a dozen Indians were found slain. Dissatisfied with this adventure, they immediately went to Hatfield, but were prevented from attacking it by the opportune arrival of a re-inforcement of troops from Hadley. Not willing to give up the day thus, they returned to Northampton, but the difficulty they had previously experienced, in their retreat through the openings they had made in the palisades, appealed too strongly to their caution, and they withdrew. Soon after this they appeared at Westfield, but, beyond killing one man and taking a quantity of corn, they effected no damage.

Either from an abstract consideration of policy, or under the suggestion of the attacks made upon the Longmeadow cavalcade, upon Northampton, and other out-dwellers and out-posts, the Council of Massachusetts transmitted to Major Savage a letter of instructions, which created one of those storms of local feeling which have not been uncommon in more recent periods, and which then threatened very serious disturbances. This letter was dated March 20th, and the following is the portion of it, in point:

> "That those our towns on Connecticut River, do immediately consult and determine the putting themselves into such a posture as may best accommodate their security and provision, which we judge must be by their gathering together in such places and numbers that they may be able to defend themselves, and some considerable part of each company be improved in planting, &c., and, in case this cannot be in each town, then the lesser towns must gather to the greater. To remain in such a scattered state, is to expose lives and estates to the merciless cruelty of the enemy, and is no less than tempting divine providence; and to quit our plantations, one after another, refusing to comply to the present humbling hand of the Lord against us, is to be our own executioners, and we fear will be. * * * Some that know those places best, do apprehend that Springfield and Hadley are the fittest places for their fortifying and planting."

At the same time, the Secretary of the Council transmitted a letter to Major Pynchon, on the same subject, in which he says: "there is no way that we can see, but to come all together, into some convenient place in the town, and take in so large a fort that the proprietors may live in distinct houses or shelters; and Westfield must join with you, and totally remove to you, for it is impossible to hold both towns, the enemy being so many in those parts, and our army must remove from thence." The Secretary then goes on to state that the most of the frontiers are drawing off, and that the present work is the securing of the principal towns on the sea coast. The drift of the letter was that the cost of maintaining the scattered settlements on the Connecticut was altogether too much, and it closed with the following threat: "if your people be averse from our advice, we must be necessitated to draw off our forces from thence, for we cannot spare them, nor supply them with ammunition."

These orders, or this "advice," became immediately the cause of the most intense dissatisfaction. Rev. Solomon Stoddard, the successor in 1672, of Mr. Mather, at Northampton, wrote a letter to the Council, on the 28th of March, signed by himself, John Strong, Wm. Clarke, David Wilton, John Lyman and John King, in which he says: "The Lord has wonderfully appeared of late for our preservation, and we fear it would be displeasing unto Him if we should give up into the hands of our enemies, by running away, that which the Lord has so eminently delivered out of their hands when they did so violently assault us." Mr. Stoddard then enlarged upon the importance of keeping up the place for the accommodation of the army, and made the very practical proposition to receive into the Northampton garrison fifty soldiers, in addition to those who had been there all Winter, with the promise, on the part of the town, "to diet them freely, and pay their wages." The letter closes with the following allusion to Springfield: "Whereas some have informed the Council that Springfield is one of the most convenient towns for others to repair to, your honors are much misled therein, for the bulk of the town is burnt already, whereby they are incapable to entertain others, and their land lies remote—most of it on the other side of the great river, so that they are incapable, we fear, either to maintain themselves." Under the same date, Mr. Russell of Hadley wrote to the Council, upon the same subject. He says: "there appears something working towards a frustration and disappointment of that good end aimed at, viz: an inclination manifested in divers, especially at Westfield, (which town I guess at as not like to hold together) in case they be necessitated to pluck up, to remove out of the colony to Windsor or Hartford, or some other towns in that jurisdiction, whereby it may come to pass that a town, and perhaps others in the same manner, may be broken." Mr.

Russell suggested, in view of this state of things, an act, or order, forbidding individuals to leave their plantations, to remove into another jurisdiction, without a special license.

It would appear from Mr. Russell's letter, that the state of feeling that prevailed at Westfield was known among the other towns on the river, before it was communicated to the Council by the town itself; and from the subsequent proceedings of the town, it is not improbable that they were meant to be, and that the strongest reports of the dissatisfaction of the people were sought to be disseminated, that they might have an effect upon the decisions of the Council in regard to them. On the 2d of April, Isaac Phelps, David Ashley, and Josiah Dewey, in behalf of the town of Westfield, addressed a long letter to the Council. The letter was written by Mr. Taylor, the minister, whose style of literary labor seems to have been wonderfully diffuse. It appears from the letter that a town meeting had been held, at which it was decided that they could themselves accommodate between twenty and thirty families, if so many would come and dwell among them. But the project of removing to Springfield was altogether an offensive one, "insomuch that there is not a man among us having the least inclination to remove that way." Mr. Taylor then, or, rather, the letter which he wrote, goes on to state the grounds for entertaining a different opinion of Springfield, as a place of safety, from that stated by the Council, in the following curious words:

"1st. *Its situation*—lying on both sides of the great river Connecticut, whose East side is void of habitations, being but very few left, and those a great distance asunder; those on the West side being scattered about a mile up and down, some of which are hid with brambles; and as for its tillage ground, most is a great distance from the town, and not clear from brush in some places of it and to it, insomuch as an indifferent person cannot but judge (as we suppose) that the danger is double, in managing field employments, to what ours is.

"2d. *Its preparation*—It is a place (with grief of heart be it spoken) most of the East side in ashes—unbuilt and unfortified, unless some few houses.

"3d. *Its providential dispensation*—It hath been sorely under the blasting hand of God, so that it hath but in a lower degree than ordinary answered the labor of the husbandman, and sometime his labor upon it is wholly cast away.

"Now these thoughts are very discouraging unto all thoughts of our removal thither, for to remove from habitations to none, from fortifications to none, from a compact and plain place to a scattered, from a place of less danger in the field to more, from a place under the ordinary blessing upon our labors to one usually blasted, seems to us such a strange thing that we find not a man among us inclined thereto."

The letter incidentally refers to a note that had been addressed to the Hartford Council, requesting a re-inforcement of their garrison, and the refusal of the request; and then goes on to state that they had proposed to fortify themselves by contracting their line of defenses, and, while asking for thirty more soldiers for their garrison, intimates that if the inhabitants cannot have a safe convoy to *some place downwards*, or the thirty soldiers asked for, they prefer to abide by themselves and their town, rather than to go to Springfield. "It grieves us," continues the letter, "that we should object so much against Springfield, for the Worshipful Major Pynchon's sake, but we judge there is a *better way for his safety than this*, and although we would do much for his sake, yet we cannot advantage on this ground into such great hazard as appears." Finally, the letter does away with all idea of removal in the following concluding sentence: "Furthermore, we are altogether incapacitated for any removal, by reason of the awful hand of God upon us, in personal visitations, for there came a soldier sick of bloody flux, and, dying amongst us, in Capt. Cook's family, hath infested the family therewith, insomuch that he hath lost a son by it, his wife lies at the point of death, his youngest son is very weak of it, and he himself is almost brought to his bed by it, and there is another family in the house hath it."

Three days after the dispatch of this communication, another one was sent to the Hartford Council, which proved that the inhabitants were either in a highly excited, and even exasperated condition of mind, or that they meant to accomplish their evident desire to remain on their plantation, and secure a garrison to help them, by intrigue and finesse. The letter is written by the same hand as the other, and alludes in the first place to the order for them to remove, their objections to removing to Springfield, and the measures they had taken to fortify themselves. The letter then proceeds:

"If we must be gone from hence, many of us have estates and friends calling of us elsewhere, and, thereupon, most of us incline, in case we remove, to come downwards. But yet the hand of God hath shut us up, so that we apprehend that we are under the call of God to abide here at present, by reason of the sore hand of God upon us, disenabling Capt. Cook's family, and others, from a remove, who are low, and Captain's wife at the point of death, under the bloody flux. Wherefore, the ground of these lines is, in part, to intimate unto you that if there should be any convoy allowed at the present, by your honored selves, to any one, for the bringing off their estate, the opportunity being so desirable to us all, if our town were not under the circumstances by the hand of God upon the persons of some amongst us, whereby it would be their death to remove, (yet, we see that it being such a desirable opportunity,) that we fear we should lay our hands upon - - - - leaving our sick to look to themselves, and liable to the rage of merciless enemies.

This we thought good to leave with you, that you might not, against their wills, expose us to such a temptation as such an opportunity might be. This, and not any respect of resuming the estate of any one with us, is the ground of this intimation; but the ground also of our lines, is, to desire this favor—that you would refresh us in this sad state that we are in by letting us understand whether we may have any hopes of such a favor, as may be a safety for us, in case the Lord should put us in a personal state to remove, by removing his afflicting hand, and whether or no you would advise us to adventure to cast any seed into the land, if God doth detain us at the present where we are. You know (we judge) how our fields lie. We request not anything at your hands to lay you under any temptation, and therefore we have ingeniously intimated what the thoughts of the Bay gentlemen are concerning us. But our danger is such as we cannot settle upon anything, and if we are like to have no relief from yourselves, *it being known*, may be an occasion to force us into the fields. The Lord shine forth, and show us our duty, and bring us to a willing kissing of the rod. We shall not add, only desiring the Almighty to be our shield."

This letter, whose precise drift and meaning it is somewhat difficult to arrive at, was answered April 7th, by a note from the Hartford Council, scarcely less ambiguous, and in which they say: "as circumstanced, were we capable to anything in way of supply for your continuance there, we should do it; neither have we, nor will we, do anything irregularly, to draw you from attendance of what from your own authority is presented, if it be found for their welfare and advantage; or to draw off any part to the hazard and discouragement of the rest, and shall forbear giving any such opportunity." This utterance of declarations showing themselves to be beyond the reach of all corruption was doubtless intended for "the gentlemen of the Bay," while the whole was qualified to harmonize with the tone of Westfield in the words—"We cannot but say that when God shall open the door with safety, both for shelter to you and security to us, in reference to the disease, we shall account it our duty, and accordingly be ready to lend our assistance in your transport, and give such entertainment as we are capable. In the meantime, your patience a little longer will be advisable. If you should venture while there to sow, it is somewhat possible you may find opportunity of reaping. It is doing what we can, and leaving the event with God."

The explanation of both the Westfield letter and the reply of the Hartford Council would appear to be, that the Westfield people did not intend to remove at all, and that the Connecticut Government did not wish to have them. At the same time, the inhabitants of the disaffected town wished to have "the gentlemen of the Bay," think there was danger of their removal to Connecticut, in case they were not humored and protected in their determination to remain where they were, while their Connecticut friends, taking care to disclaim all idea of any irregular proceedings, apparently complied with their wishes, both to gain time, and assist them in achieving their ends. There was a good and sufficient reason for the Connecticut Council not wishing the Westfield people to desert their town, for the more the war could be confined to the upper towns on the river, and the greater the number of towns in that quarter, the less danger there would be to the towns in Connecticut. They could not but see that if the towns above them should be deserted, and thus become the planting grounds of the Indians, a power would be nursed that would shortly endanger themselves. So, their promise to bring off the Westfield people, under certain circumstances, was intended only as a placebo to them, and a gentle irrisent to the Massachusetts Council. This is very evident from a letter written by the Connecticut Council to the Council of Massachusetts on the 27th of April. This letter expresses disapproval of the order in regard to the removal of certain towns in Hampshire County, and goes on to say that the enemy will destroy the deserted places and plant them, and thus, being provided with rich accommodations, will continually annoy the larger towns that remain. They plead that thus one of the best granaries of the Massachusetts colony would be lost, and suggest as a better course of policy the taking of men from "leaner places," and planting them in the fertile towns upon the Connecticut, thus enabling the towns to defend themselves. By whatever motive the policy of Connecticut was governed, it was, without doubt, the best, and the Westfield people were right in their determination not to remove, though the extreme local feeling incidentally developed, and the mode resorted to for compassing their ends, in their attempt to engage the complicity of the Hartford Council, form a curious chapter in the history of the times.

The disaffected towns carried their point. In an order of the Council of April 1st, which must have been issued directly upon the receipt of the letters of Mr. Stoddard of Northampton and Mr. Russell of Hadley, Major Savage was commanded to return home, and "to leave Soldiers to assist those towns, *on those terms*, [probably the terms offered by Northampton—to board them and pay their wages,] not exceeding 180 men, choosing such as are the fittest for that service." At this date, Major Treat and a portion, at least, of his forces, had gone to Connecticut, and Major Savage was ordered, in case they should return, to march, if he should deem it best, against the Indians at Deerfield. Previous to the departure of Major Savage, several inhabitants of Hadley went down the river to Hoccanum, accompanied by a small guard, to work in the meadows. Carelessly separating themselves from the guard, and some of them even ascending Mt. Holyoke, to obtain a view of the surrounding country, they were fallen upon by the Indians, and three of them killed, one of them a prominent citizen—Dea. Goodman. Thomas Reed, a soldier, was also taken prisoner. On the 27th of April, two citizens of Springfield having occasion to go to Skipmuck, (now Chicopee Falls, in the town of Chicopee,) saw some Indians, and, themselves unseen, hastened back to the town. Capt. Samuel Holyoke, who had been elected to the Command of the military company of the town, to succeed his father, Elizur Holyoke, who died in the February previous, took a number of men with him, and started in pursuit. The Indians, only four in number, were found seated on the river bank, and were entirely unsuspicious of danger. They were fired upon, and all at first fell, but then jumped up, and returned the fire without effect. The Indians then took to the river, and were fired upon again. Two died in the river, and two escaped to the opposite bank, where one fell, and where the fourth was overtaken, captured, and brought into Springfield, and there submitted to a close inquisition. He talked freely, and declared that the Indians had three forts South of Northfield, that their number was 3,000, with 1,000 fighting men, the rest being women and children, that there were no foreign Indians with them, there being only the river Indians, Narragansets, Nipmucks, Quaboags, and such others as were well known to be engaged in the war, that they were bare of clothing and provisions, but were furnished with ammunition by the Dutch, and that these Indians were so much inclined to peace that, were the English to propose it, they would even bring in the head of Philip. He further stated that many of them were lurking about the towns for the purposes of mischief. The statement of the Indian that there were no foreign Indians with them, was drawn out, doubtless, by questions based on a suspicion that the Mohawks had been induced to join them, through the machinations of Philip. Suspicions were also afloat that the intriguing chief had taken measures to secure the co-operation of the Canada Indians. In regard to this matter, the Indian doubtless told the truth.

On the 15th of May, Thomas Reed, the soldier who was taken prisoner near Hoccanum, in the April previous, came into Hadley, having escaped from the Indians, and reported that the enemy were planting at Deerfield, and had then been engaged in the business for several days; that they dwelt at the Falls, (between the present towns of Gill and Montague,) on both sides of the river, and that, though their number was considerable, they were mostly old men and women. They were, however, secure and scornful, boasting of the great things they had done against the English, and would do in the future. Two days before the arrival of Reed at Hadley, they had visited Hatfield, and driven off many horses and cattle. These, he saw at Deerfield, grazing in the meadow, the fences being put up to keep them in. Two lads—Stebbins and Gilbert—the latter a step-son of Samuel Marshfield of Springfield—had before this escaped from captivity, and had given full information of the position of the Indians at the Falls. The Indians were short of provisions, and had gathered here for the purpose of pursuing their fisheries, for which there was no better place on the Connecticut, while the stream itself had, at that day, probably, no superior in the world in the abundance of its finny stores. Hoyt, who wrote in 1824, says that many people then living could remember when upwards of 5,000 shad had been taken in one day by dipping nets, at Burnam's rock, on the falls. This was, of course, previous to the erection of the dam now standing there.

At this time, Philip was known to be among his forces in Northern Massachusetts, supposed to be scattered in considerable parties from Wachuset Mountain, in the present town of Princeton, to the Connecticut River. The Indians at the Falls were aware of the comparative weakness of the English forces on the Connecticut, and were in no fear of an attack. Under these circumstances, Capt. Turner, who, on Maj. Savage's departure, had been left in command, determined to attack them. Accordingly, he assembled at Hatfield 180 men, drawn chiefly from that town, Springfield, Northampton and Hadley, and, with Capt. Samuel Holyoke of Springfield as his second in command, started on the 17th of May for the Falls. The expedition was undertaken on the evening of that day. Their course lay up the West side of the river, across Bloody Brook, and the forsaken plantation of Deerfield, over Deerfield River at the village now known as Cheapside, and on to the West bank of Fall River, near the present factory village in Greenfield. This ride of twenty miles was entirely completed in the night. In passing Deerfield River, they disturbed a lodge of Indians, and came near being discovered, but the Indians finally concluded that it was a company of moose, and not horses, that were wading the river, and returned to their slumbers. The Indians at the Falls were enjoying their morning nap, having the previous night regaled themselves upon the milk and flesh of cows which they had stolen from the English settlements. Not a scout was out, and all minor sounds were unheard in the ceaseless roar of the waters of the Falls. Here, on the bank of Fall River, the soldiers tied their horses, and just as the day began to dawn, the body resumed its progress on foot. Rushing boldly and rapidly forward, through the intervening woods, they reached the back of the camp, situated on high ground, upon the river's bank. The word was given, and the terrific roar of musketry that followed drowned for a moment the roar of the waters. The bullets riddled the wigwams, and, pouring forth from every hut, the savages rushed out, in the wildest alarm. Their cry of "Mohawks!" "Mohawks!" showed how little they dreamed of an attack from the English, and how slight ground there was to suspect that the Mohawks were their allies. In their confusion and alarm, their only resort was the river. Shot down on every hand, they rushed to their canoes. Some, in the haste of the moment, threw themselves into their frail boats, and pushed off without their paddles. These, of course, went over the cataract, and were drowned. Others were shot during their passage across the river, and their canoes, one after another, disappeared beneath the tumbling waters. Others met death in their cabins, while others, still, took shelter under the rocks upon the river's bank, where they were sought out, and put to death by the sword. Capt. Holyoke, himself, killed five with his sword. Every soldier was busy with the terrible work of death, and the work was very brief. At its close, one hundred Indians lay dead upon the ground, "and an hundred and forty were seen to pass down the cataract, but one of whom escaped drowning." Only one of the soldiers was killed, while it was subsequently acknowledged by the Indians that they lost, in killed and drowned, 300 men, some of whom were their principal sachems.

Unfortunately for Capt. Turner, he was very feeble in health, and but poorly able to sustain the excitement and fatigue of such service, but, knowing his dangerous vicinage to more powerful and better prepared bodies of savages, he ordered the wigwams to be destroyed, and then commenced his march for his horses. In the meantime, another lodge of Indians on the other side of the river had become aware of the comparative weakness of his force, and commenced to cross in their canoes, for an attack upon him. A small force of volunteers against the daring savages was driven back, and the little army arrived at the place where they had left their horses, just in time to rescue them from the hands of a body of Indians that had approached from below. Mounting their horses, they immediately commenced the return march, which, according to every indication, was to be a difficult one. As the sun came up, the day grew hot and sultry in the extreme, adding still further to the indisposition of Capt. Turner, for whom it soon became difficult to manage his horse. The main body was led by Capt. Turner, while Holyoke, with a small detachment, protected the rear. About a mile below the Falls, on what is known as Smead's Island, there was quite a large lodge of Indians. These being joined by those on the left bank of the river, came over, and repeatedly attacked the force under Holyoke, and were repeatedly driven back. At length Capt. Holyoke's horse was shot from under him, when several Indians rushed up to dispatch him, but drawing his pistol, he shot the foremost, and then, by the aid of his men, got clear of them. And now commenced the misfortunes of the little army. Capt. Turner's weakness increased, and the troops perceived that he must soon be unable to guide their movements. At this unfortunate moment, an Indian captive informed the troops that Philip was approaching, with a thousand men, and an apparent confirmation of his statement was seen in sudden attacks from various quarters. A panic descended upon the troops, and the main body without an efficient leader, divided into separate squads, under different commanders. The route from Fall River to Green River was flanked on the left by a morass, which formed a most desirable cover to the enemy. During its passage, one party was entirely destroyed, and another taken prisoners, and reserved for the horrible fate of burning. At length, the main body reached Green River, and here Capt. Turner received a fatal shot from the enemy,-

and his body was afterwards found by the English where it fell, in Greenfield meadow, near the mouth of Green River. The command now devolved upon Capt. Holyoke, who had, thus far, been the life and the protecting genius of the expedition. He conducted the retreat, hard pressed by the numerous enemy, warding off or escaping from warm attacks made at almost every step of his progress, until, worn down by the heat and the terrible excitements of the day, the shattered troop entered Hatfield, diminished by the number of thirty-eight men.

The panic that assailed the troops in the first stage of the retreat gave rise to one or two incidents of individual suffering so extraordinary as to be worthy of mention. Jonathan Wells of Hatfield, received a shot which fractured his thigh. Just able to keep his horse, he attached himself to two of the flying parties in turn, but at last they left him behind, and he fell into the company of one Jones, also wounded. Both became bewildered in the woods, and finally separated. At length, Wells struck Green River, and followed it up, until he arrived in the Northerly part of the present town of Greenfield, at the place known as the Country Farms, where he fell from his horse, exhausted. After a swoon of entire unconsciousness, he commenced a journey up the stream, in a direction opposite from his home, dragging his broken limb, with the assistance of his gun, which he used for a crutch; and, as night approached, he paused and struck a fire, which accidentally caught the leaves around, and spread in all directions. Fearful that he should thus attract the Indians, but overcome by fatigue, he had just strength sufficient to bind up his limb with a handkerchief, when he lay down, and fell into a sound sleep. In that sleep, he had a dream, which admonished him that he had been traveling in the wrong direction; and when he awoke he followed its indications. He went down Green River, forded Deerfield River, and, while lying down to rest, saw an Indian approaching him in a canoe. He leveled his gun at him, then perfectly useless, and the Indian leaped into the water to escape his harmless aim, and soon disappeared. Knowing that he should be reported to the Indians in the vicinity, he retired to a swamp, and hid himself. The savages swarmed all around him, but did not find him. From this point, he slowly progressed, sometimes giving up in despair, sometimes overcome with hunger, and all the time in pain, until he arrived at Hatfield, where he was received with every demonstration of joy and gratitude, and where, after a few months of confinement, he found himself able to resume his employments, and continue them through a long and useful life.

Rev. Hope Atherton, also of Hatfield, and a member of the expedition, met with a most remarkable incident. He was lost in the woods, and becoming convinced that he could never find his way home, endeavored by signs to deliver himself to a party of Indians, but they, in some way, were aware of the nature of his profession, and overcome by their superstitious fears, would not touch him. At last, he found the Connecticut River, and, guided by it, succeeded, after long days of hunger and suffering, in arriving at his home.

The "Falls Fight" has ever been a famous one in the history of the Indian wars. A terrible slaughter was inflicted upon the Indians, and the retreat, though abundantly disastrous to the soldiers, was conducted, after the first fatal panic, with consummate skill and bravery. As an acknowledgment of the importance of the services rendered, the Massachusetts General Court, in 1736, granted to the survivors of the day and the descendants of those who participated in the fight—in all 99 persons—the whole of the present town of Bernardston—first called Falltown, in commemoration of the services for which it was bestowed. Capt. Turner was a brave man, and belonged in Boston, where he left a wife, who was subsequently provided for, to a certain extent, at least, by the Government. His name is now, and will doubtless forever be associated with the Falls that formed the scene of the terrific butchery which has been described. But Capt. Holyoke was the real hero of the day, and very sadly and fearfully did he have to pay for the name he won. The intense heat of the day, and the excessive exertions to which he was subjected, induced a disease from which he never recovered. He died in the following Autumn, at the early age of twenty-eight years, and his dust reposed in the ancient graveyard in Springfield, until a few years since, when the spade of improvement disturbed it to make a passage for the iron horse.

The slaughter of the Indians at the Falls, on the morning of the 18th of May, involving as it did the loss of so many able warriors and important sachems, was a blow seriously felt by Philip, for it broke up the fisheries on which he had largely depended for supplies, and it has already been seen that the scheme of Conanchet, for getting a supply of seed-corn, had failed. But the effect on his mind was only to excite to greater intensity his desire for revenge. So, on the 30th of May, from six to seven hundred Indians invaded Hatfield, their first work being to set on fire twelve buildings without the fortification. At this time, almost every man belonging to the plantation was at work in the meadow, and, while the palisaded dwellings were attacked at every point, and bravely defended by the few who remained, and while a large number of the savages were busy in killing cattle, or driving them off, one hundred and fifty Indians entered the meadow, to engage the planters. The flames of the burning buildings were seen at Hadley, and twenty-five young men left that town immediately to render assistance to their neighbors, and arrived in the meadow just in season to save the planters from entire destruction. Rushing forward, the little body came boldly upon the savage host, and killed five or six of them at the first discharge. They then charged upon them, drove them back to the town, and inflicted terrible slaughter upon them, without themselves losing a man, until they arrived near the town, where five of their number fell dead. Twenty-five Indians were killed, being one to each man who went over from Hadley. The Indians were then driven out of the village, preceded by a large body who had succeeded in getting away the cattle. A letter written by a Connecticut officer at Northampton, to the Hartford Council, on the day in which these events transpired, states that besides the five killed of the Hadley company three were wounded. Of the five killed two were Connecticut men, viz: J. Smith and Richard Hall, while two other Connecticut men—John Stow and Roger Albis—were wounded in the foot. The three others killed were two Massachusetts soldiers belonging to the Hadley garrison, and John Smith, a citizen of Hadley. According to the same authority, the Indians, after retiring from Hatfield, or a portion of them, ambushed the way between Northampton and Hatfield, anticipating the approach of the Northampton troops. But this had been guarded against. The Northampton troops, as soon as they became aware of the attack upon Hatfield, crossed over to Hadley, but were unable to get over to Hatfield, in consequence of the Indians lying so thick around the landing place. At what particular period of the affray their attempt to land occurred is not very apparent, but it seems to have been after the fight, and the retirement of the Indians from the town. The explanation seems to be that the Indians who lay in ambush for them had become aware of their movements, and, following up the river bank, menaced them from the Hatfield shore, while the larger body of the savages had retired Northward.

Finding so powerful and so mischievous a force of Indians upon the Connecticut, the Governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut saw the necessity of changing their course of policy, and of returning to the river towns the force that had been withdrawn. Major Talcot of Connecticut was dispatched, with two hundred and fifty English troops, and two hundred Mohegan and Pequot Indians, with the intention of joining a body of Massachusetts forces under Capt. Henchman, at Brookfield. On his way thither, he killed and captured a considerable number of Indians, and destroyed their corn and cabins, but Capt. Henchman not arriving in time to meet him at Brookfield, he pressed on, and arrived at Northampton about the 8th of June, having suffered severely on the route from lack of provisions,—so severely, in fact, that the march was memorable as the "hungry march." At this time, the force at Hadley was under the command of Capt. Swain, and this was the next point to receive the enemy. Endeavoring to profit by the mode and time of attack adopted by Capt. Turner at the Falls, about seven hundred Indians came upon Hadley, early on the morning of the 12th of June. The attack was made with a desperate determination to succeed. On the preceding night, they laid an ambuscade at the Southern extremity of the town, calculating to sweep the place from the North, and by driving the inhabitants Southward, to force them into the snare there set for them.

The enemy were warmly received at the palisades. At one point on the North, the palisades were pierced, and the Indians succeeded in gaining possession of a house, but were, at last, forced out of it, and beaten back, with loss. At this moment of extreme confusion and alarm, the course of events was under the keen survey of a pair of eyes that were strangers to all but one or two families in the town. They were eyes practiced in military affairs, and belonged to a man who held the stake of life in the issue of the conflict. Unable longer to remain an idle spectator of the struggle, he resolved to issue forth. Suddenly he stood in the midst of the affrighted villagers—a man marked in his dress, noble in his carriage, and venerable in appearance. Self appointed, he, in a measure, assumed the command, arranged and ordered the English forces in the best military manner, encouraged here, commanded there, rallied the men everywhere, filled them with hope and firmness on every hand, and, at last, succeeded in repelling the overwhelming numbers that swarmed on all sides. The discharge of a piece of ordnance put them to flight, and Major Talcot going over from Northampton with his forces, joined the victorious villagers and soldiers of Hadley in chasing the Indians into the woods. This feat was accomplished with the loss of only two or three men, on the part of the English. But the mysterious stranger, who had been partly if not mainly instrumental in effecting this thorough rout, had retired from sight, as suddenly as he had made his advent. Whom he was, none knew. That such a man could live upon a plantation, and not be known, was not deemed possible, and it is not strange that, in the superstitious spirit of the times, he should have been regarded by the people as "an angel sent of God upon that special occasion for their deliverance;" and it is recorded that for some time after, the people said and believed that they had been saved by an angel. They little imagined then, what they afterwards ascertained, that their guardian angel was Goffe, the "Regicide," and that Whalley, his father-in-law and companion in exile—at that time superannuated—then resided in the family of Mr. Russell, the minister, and had, with Goffe, been there for nearly twelve years.

Condemned with twenty-eight other judges, for passing sentence of death upon Charles I, of England, these two men escaped from their country in 1660. Both had been officers of high rank in Cromwell's army. Measures were taken in England for their arrest, and they were obliged to secrete themselves. For three or four years, they lived in and about New Haven, but the place of their seclusion having become in some degree notorious, they went to Hadley in 1664, where Mr. Russell received, secreted, and provided for them. Here, unknown to the people of Hadley, undiscovered by the soldiers billeted upon the planters, and absolutely unseen by any but Mr. Russell's family, Peter Tilton, and a Mr. Smith, they lived for fifteen or sixteen years. Mr. Tilton, a man of character, a magistrate, and frequently a member of the General Court from Hadley, was the medium of communication between the judges and their friends, and through him, contributions were made for their support. In this retirement, Whalley died, and his body was interred in a tomb, without the cellar wall of Mr. Russell's house, and there his bones have since been found. This was before 1679, and it was probably not long after his decease that Goffe, who had thus far remained with him, bound to him alike by the ties of his relationship and a noble sympathy, left Hadley, and the remainder of his career is unknown. During the residence of these two men at Hadley, Gen. Dixwell, another of the judges, joined them, and resided there for some time, but soon removed to New Haven, married, raised a family of children, bore the assumed name of Davids, and died in 1689, at the advanced age of 81. His grave-stone still stands in the City of Elms, and is often visited by the curious.

The power of Philip had for some time been on the wane. His attacks upon the settlers on the Connecticut had ceased to be formidable. The Indians did not fight with spirit, and came to distrust themselves. Already, every hope of assistance from other tribes had vanished. The Mohawks, whom Philip had endeavored to gain over to his cause by negotiation, had become his implacable enemies, through a bloody stratagem which he had executed with the hope of exciting their hatred against the English. Somewhere in the vicinity of the Connecticut river, a party of Mohawks were encountered by a number of Philip's Indians, and put to death. Philip then caused it to be reported that they had been murdered by the English, but it so happened that one of the victims was not completely dispatched. Bearing the real facts to his tribe, they were much incensed, and proceeding over the mountains into Massachusetts, and falling upon a tribe in Philip's interest, killed about fifty of them, and broke up their lodge. This was previous to the Falls Fight, and it was with the memory of this visitation upon them, that the Indians doubted not that they were assailed by the Mohawks, when Capt. Turner came upon them. With no hope from the West, worsted in every conflict, driven from their fisheries, at odds among themselves, straitened for provisions, and aware of the arrival of a large opposing force at Northampton, they only retired from their attack on Hadley to retreat to more distant localities. Soon after the affair at Hadley, Capt. Henchman arrived with his party of Massachusetts troops, and in company with those under Talcot, went Northward, to break up the haunts of the Indians above, and destroy their stores. Both sides of the river were swept in the upward march, as far as Turner's Falls, but not an Indian was to be seen. The river was followed further North, but with no success. The whole field was forsaken. The fish, and such food as they had stored in cellars, were destroyed. But sad scenes were witnessed on the track of the retreating expedition of Turner. His body was found upon the spot already described as the locality of his death, while the stakes to which the unfortunate captives had been tied, and burnt to death, were still standing, as dark in their associations as in their stark and charred appearance.

The enemy having retired from the Connecticut River, the presence of the large bodies of troops under Talcot and Henchman was no longer necessary, and, accordingly, Talcot left for the Narraganset country, inflicting severe damage upon the Indians upon his route, while Henchman was not less efficient as he swept the forests on his return. At this time, broken and dispirited, large bodies of Indians were returning to the Narraganset country and its vicinity, where they were hunted down by parties of English who had become so well acquainted with the ground, and so accustomed to the warfare, that they killed and captured them by scores, with hardly the loss of a man. But Philip, though pressed on all sides, and forsaken by his Northern allies, maintained his haughty and implacable spirit, and so far as possible persevered in his hostilities. Many of his allies, who found themselves nearly destroyed, laid upon him the blame of their fate, and sought safety in flight. Major Talcot, having returned to Connecticut from the Narraganset country, took with him additional force, and stationed his troops in Westfield, for the purpose of cutting off such fugitives as might pass that way; and, as the evil fortune of the poor savages would have it, two hundred of them, bound for the Hudson, passed peaceably by the town, and he discovered their trail. Three days after this, he came up with them, in the present town of Stockbridge, in Berkshire County, encamped on the banks of the Housatonic River. He arrived in the night, and made his preparations to attack them both in front and in rear. A single Indian who had gone out to take fish detected their movements, gave the alarm, and was immediately shot. The attack, thus precipitated, was made before all the preparations were completed, and, upon the first fire upon the camp, all that could fly, retreated to the woods, and escaped. Twenty-five of the number were left dead upon the ground, and twenty were captured. Among the captives was the treacherous sachem of Quaboag. Hubbard says that "many of the rest were badly wounded, as appeared by many of the bushes being much besmeared with blood, as was observed by those who followed them further." It was subsequently ascertained that they lost sixty in all, killed and captured. Talcot lost but one man, and he a Mohegan Indian. This act showed the Indians in this quarter that, however much they might refrain from hostilities, they had nothing to hope for in the returning clemency of the colonial authorities, and all retired. The Connecticut River Indians fled either West to the Hudson, or North to Canada.

Philip, still indomitable, struggled still, and the Plymouth colony was largely the scene of his operations, but his men were hewn down on every hand. Sometimes he escaped death or capture as if by magic, or miracle. His chief counsellors and captains were killed, but he evaded both death and capture. Then his wife and children were seized or killed, and still he eluded the grasp of his persevering enemy. At last, the treachery of one of his own men became the cause of his fall. A company under Captain Church of Plymouth, a commander whose marvellous bravery and singular success in the war marked him more than any other man as its hero, surrounded a swamp in the vicinity of Mount Hope, to which Philip with about two hundred of his men had retired. Only sixty of these escaped. One hundred and thirty were killed and captured, and among the former was Philip. He was shot by an Indian, and fell with his face in the mud. His head was severed from his body, and his body left to the wild beasts. Thus, on the 12th of August, closed the life of "King Philip."

No man with a decent respect for bravery, indomitable purpose, and true military genius, can reflect upon the fall of this poor savage, there at his old home, his nation in ruins, his wife and children torn from him, and all his ambitious schemes overthrown, without a sigh of genuine commiseration. He needed but a whiter skin and a better success to have made him a hero whose name should linger on men's lips, and whose praise should be celebrated in song.

"Even that he lived is for his conqueror's tongue;
By foes alone his death-song must be sung;
No chronicles but theirs shall tell
His mournful doom to future times;
May these upon his virtues dwell,
And in his fate forget his crimes."

The subsequent capture of Annawon, Philip's chief captain, by the renowned Capt. Church, brought to a close the bloodiest war New England ever knew. About six hundred whites had been killed, and probably a much larger number of buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, had been burned. Trumbull concludes that about one-eleventh of the militia, and of all the buildings in the United Colonies, were swept away. There was hardly a family but mourned the loss of a member, or a relative. The Indians were very much more seriously despoiled. Their loss in men, women and children was counted by thousands, while their strongholds were leveled, and their lodges and stores destroyed. But what will really conquer a civilized man, will not conquer an Indian. To be reduced to the life of an Indian in his best estate—and his worst differs little from it—would be to conquer a civilized foe. The Indians had nothing but their lives to lose, and these were held at a value proportionate to the low enjoyments and inferior aims of their possessors. Warlike operations continued on the sea coast still further East, until the Spring of 1678, when a peace was concluded. In the meantime, the Connecticut River settlers, relieved of the presence of their enemies, resumed their employments, and returned to their plantations.

CHAPTER VII

New Indian Difficulties and Their Close.

The planters of Deerfield returned to their town, at the close of the war, though no order for its re-settlement was passed until the May session of the General Court, 1682. But their danger and their trials were not yet past. The straggling parties of Eastern Indians that crossed the Valley in their emigration to the West kept them in constant fear, while predatory squads returned from their new homes at the North to visit vengeance upon the holders of their old possessions. It became evident, at last, that the suspicions, long previously aroused, that the French in Canada were aiding the Indians in their movements, were correct. Under this state of things, so insecure were the settlers, that "they went about their ordinary business with arms in their hands, and to their solemn assemblies as when one goeth to the battle." No very serious demonstration was made, however, until the Autumn of 1677, when, it being the 19th day of September, a party of about fifty Indians from Canada, who had descended the Connecticut to Hatfield, fell upon that town, shot down three men outside of the fortifications, and breaking through, inflicted terrible slaughter upon men, women and children, and captured and took away a large number. The attack occurred at eleven o'clock in the morning, and while the principal part of the men were at work in the meadows. The names of those killed were Sergeant Isaac Graves, John Atchison, John Cooper, the wife and child of Philip Russell, the wife and child of John Coleman, the wife of Samuel Kellogg, the wife and child of Samuel Belding and a child of John Wells—in all, eleven. Seventeen were carried away captives, whose names follow: two children of John Coleman, "Goodwife" Waite and three children, (not to mention one a short time subsequently born in Canada,) Mrs. Foote and two children, (one of the latter was subsequently killed by the Indians,) Mrs. Jennings and two children, (one of the latter was put to death in

Canada,) Obadiah Dickinson and one child, a child of Samuel Kellogg, a child of Wm. Bartholomew, and a child of John Allis. The departing savages left six or seven others wounded as they retired Northward.

At this time, the people of Deerfield were preparing for Winter by re-building their houses. The Indians, with their captives, proceeded as far as Deerfield before night, and halted in the woods East of the town. At about sunset, they entered the place, and John Root, one of four men who undertook to escape into a swamp, was taken and put to death. They then captured Serjeant John Plympton, Quentin Stockwell and Benoni Stebbins, and joining them with the company of Hatfield captives, pushed on about three miles, and halted for the night. Crossing the Connecticut twice during the next day's march, they spent the second night at Northfield, West meadow. Pursuing the march Northward, they re-crossed the river, thus betraying apprehensions of pursuit, but that not appearing, they halted at about thirty miles above Northfield, built a shelter for themselves, and remained some time, to await the coming of a body of women and children, for whom a detachment was sent to Wachuset Mountain. Benoni Stebbins was detailed from the captives to accompany this expedition, and, during its progress, managed to escape. About eighty women and children arrived at last, and, after a halt to allow them rest, the whole party pushed Northward. After a cold and weary pilgrimage, the prisoners themselves being subjected to frequent indignities and great hardships, all arrived at Sorel, a small French garrison in Canada, Serjeant Plympton of Deerfield, however, having been burnt at the stake near Chamblee, and his fellow captive, Dickinson of Hatfield, having been obliged to lead him to his terrible death.

The distress of those in Deerfield and Hatfield, thus bereft of neighbors, companions and children, was naturally intense. At last, by some means, they ascertained the destination of the captives, and Benjamin Waite and Stephen Jennings, whose wives were among them, conceived the idea of reclaiming them. Accordingly, provided with a commission from the Governor of Massachusetts, they started, among the last days of October, on their tedious and hazardous expedition. They went to Albany, and after escaping from troubles which the jealousy of the Dutch brought upon them, placed themselves under an Indian guide. They proceeded with great difficulty, up the Hudson, through Lake George, and down Lake Champlain, until, late in December, they arrived at Chamblee, a small French settlement. They found that Mrs. Jennings and four other captives had been pawned to the French for liquor, at Sorel, while the remainder of the captives were among the Indians not far distant. Unable to secure all the captives without the assistance of the French authorities, they then pushed on for Quebec, and succeeded, at last, in getting the captives that survived, together, by the payment to the Indians of £200. The progress homeward was not undertaken until Spring, and was necessarily slow, but on the 22d of May, Quentin Stockwell wrote a letter from Albany, announcing to his wife his return to that point, and the safety of all the captives save Plympton, Philip Russell's child, and a daughter of Mrs. Foote. On the 23d, he wrote again, urging his friends to come on and meet the party, and to "stay not for Sabbath or shoeing of horses." The summons was promptly answered, but the captives had progressed as far as Westfield when they were met. The passage home was little else than a triumphal procession. Every plantation shared in the joy, and an enthusiastic participant in the general rejoicing, in writing to the Governor a statement of their return, acknowledged the insanity of pleasure which possessed him.

It was but a few days after the attacks upon Hatfield and Deerfield, just related, that a party of Indians attacked the mill at Hadley, but it was bravely defended, and they withdrew. From these repeated attacks, the settlers at Deerfield became discouraged, and again forsook their plantation, but their troubles for the time were over. In the latter part of 1677, the Indians indicated their readiness to make peace, and a Commission convened at Northampton for the purpose of treating with them. Major Treat of Connecticut, accompanied by a guard of forty men, went up to join in the treaty. The Indians were promised protection and the enjoyment, unmolested, of such lands as they should re-occupy, provided they would become, and remain, subject to the English Government, and deliver up their English captives. The conference amounted to but little besides the delivery of a few captives. The Indians could not humiliate themselves, upon the scene of their old homes and hunting grounds, to the sway of their conquerors, and so departed.

CHAPTER VIII.

PEACE — THE COURTS — KING WILLIAM'S WAR — WITCHCRAFT — GENERAL MATTERS OF INTEREST.

THUS left at peace, the settlements on the Connecticut revived, confidence returned, Springfield and Deerfield, and the other towns which had suffered from the torch of the Indians were re-built, and again the planters looked forward, in the anticipation of prosperous times. During the progress of the war, nothing had advanced, but everything had retrograded. A large amount of property had been destroyed, field employments had been so difficult and dangerous of pursuit that only the absolute necessaries of life had been obtained, large numbers of cattle had been killed or driven from the plantations by the Indians, the most able of the business men had been crippled in their operations by severe losses, and, saddest of all, the stay and support of no inconsiderable number of families had been cut off in the persons of those who fell the victims of the war. The years that followed were busy years—years of planting and building—years unaccompanied by extraordinary incidents. The waste places again smiled with cheerful dwellings, and the seasons came and passed peacefully. The people attended faithfully, as was their custom, upon the ordinances of God, schooled their children, bought, sold, and got gain; and seed-time and harvest, Summer and Winter, swept by in their annual succession, bearing peace and comfort to the hearts, and plenty to the stores, of the dwellers upon the Connecticut.

Beyond the regular holding of the Courts of Hampshire County, no events appear to have transpired that come naturally into a general history of the region. The first formal admission of attorneys to practice in the Courts of the County, occurred at the session of September, 1686, when John King of Northampton, and Samuel Marshfield and Jonathan Burt, Senior, of Springfield, were "allowed of this Court to be attorney's for this County's Courts, and took the oath of attorneys for the faithful performance of their office." One of the regulations of the period is noticeable, in contrast with the rule which now obtains, in regard to the taxation of the costs of litigation. The Courts then obliged a party convicted of being grossly in the fault, in any case, to pay all the costs of the suit, comprising the fees of his opponent's counsel, as well as his own. Now, a man may recover a just claim, but his debtor, through a spirit of private revenge, may be, and often is, able to make him pay, in costs, double or quadruple the sum implicated in the suit. This fact is so apparent that in many cases it operates as a denial of right. The new colony charter of 1691 produced a change in the constitution of the Court, and somewhat in the nature of the proceedings. Courts of Common Pleas were substituted for County Courts, and a Superior Court established to take the place of the Court of Assistants, which had, thus far in the history of the colony, fulfilled that office. At first, no time was designated for the regular holding of the Superior Court in Hampshire County, but, in 1699, it was ordered to be holden once a year at Springfield. It was as late as 1771, when an additional term of that Court was ordered to be holden annually at Northampton. Liberty was given to plaintiffs, if they should choose so to do, to institute all suits, in which the demand exceeded £10, originally in the Superior Court. John Huggins and Christopher J. Lawton were attorneys belonging to Springfield who had a large practice in the Court of Common Pleas at this period. Huggins probably had the most extensive practice of any living in his day.

The year 1688 was signalized by the abdication of James, King of England; and the accession to the throne of William and Mary early in the following year, was an event which, though distant in locality, was destined to have an important bearing upon the Connecticut River towns. The change in the home Government was soon followed by a war with France which brought into hostility the French and English settlements in America. The French in Canada had never borne good will towards the English colonies, and needed but the slightest pretext to give an open and bloody demonstration of their dislike. In February, 1690, Count Frontenac, at the head of the French provincial Government, detached three parties of

French and Indians from Canada, one of which, in the course of its movements, destroyed Schenectady, in New York, murdered sixty men, women and children, took twenty-seven prisoners, and drove forth the remainder naked into a terrible snow-storm, twenty-five of whom lost their limbs by the frost. The second party fell upon Salmon Falls, killed thirty persons, took fifty-four prisoners, and burnt and plundered the village. Casco Fort was also taken by two of the parties, in conjunction. These operations, with others of less note, could not fail to excite alarm. A special assembly of the colony of Connecticut was convened, before which letters from Massachusetts were placed, expressing the urgent desire that Connecticut would send soldiers up the river to guard the towns, particularly the Northern ones of Hampshire County, and requesting that there might be a meeting of the Commissioners of the colonies, to consult upon measures for the common defense. The neighboring colonies were also applied to, and the result was the first Congress of the American Colonies, on the first of May, 1690, at New York. The measures devised by this Congress, and more particularly those entered into by New England, miscarried. The project was conceived, of reducing Canada to subjection. A force of eight small vessels sailed from Boston for Port Royal, captured the place without opposition, and then went up the St. Lawrence to Quebec, but the place was too strong, and the ill-starred fleet becoming separated by a gale, returned to Boston, losing several vessels in the expedition. A land expedition of 1,000 Connecticut and New York troops was even less successful, having made its way but a little beyond Albany, when, from a combination of untoward circumstances, it was thought expedient to return. Though these expeditions failed, the war spirit was up, and measures were taken to protect the frontiers from the incursions of the French, and the Indians in their interest, imminent now more than before.

It is not a matter of wonder that the blow intended, though not dealt, against the integrity of the French Provinces in Canada, should have provoked the wrath of Count Frontenac. New England expected it, and was not disappointed, for he immediately let slip his ranging war-dogs in every direction. The first demonstration made in

Western Massachusetts was at Brookfield. Among the last days of July, or the first of August, 1692, a party of Frontenac's Indians came upon the town. Entering the house of Joseph Wolcott, while all the family were absent, (Mrs. Wolcott with her children having gone to the field with her husband, fearing to remain alone,) they rifled it of its valuables. Returning at noon, Wolcott found his gun stolen, and saw at once that Indians had been there. He sent his wife and children out to secrete themselves in the bushes, except a little boy which he kept with him. Looking out of the window he saw an Indian approaching. Taking his boy under his arm, and an axe in his hand, he went out, and set his dog upon the Indian, who was so worried by him that he had to discharge his gun at him. As soon as the gun was discharged, Wolcott gave him chase, the Indian loading his gun as he ran. Wolcott heard the ball roll down the barrel, when he turned, caught up his child, and escaped to a fort. His wife screamed, and thus betrayed her hiding place, and she and her children were coldly murdered. A party of savages at the same time entered the house of a Mr. Mason, killed him and two children, and captured his wife and an infant. They also captured Thomas and Daniel Lawrence. Thomas, they soon afterwards murdered. John Lawrence, the brother of these men, immediately mounted a horse, and rode to Springfield for help. Capt. Colton, then the commander of the Springfield company, promptly answered the call, and made a rapid march to Brookfield, and then started in pursuit of the Indians. On the way, they came upon Mrs. Mason's child, who had been murdered and thrown into the bushes. Coming upon the encampment of the Indians, at break of day, they approached so carefully that they were able to put their guns through the brush which the Indians had disposed around them, and to fire upon them sleeping. Fourteen were killed at the first fire, and the rest precipitately fled, leaving blankets, arms and ammunition behind them, as well as the two prisoners, Daniel Lawrence and Mrs. Mason, who were conducted back in safety.

No other important demonstrations were made in this region until the 6th of June, 1693, when the Indians entered Deerfield, then the Northern settlement, Northfield still remaining unsettled, and breaking into the houses of a Mr. Wells and a Mr. Broughton, killed and wounded eight persons. In the following October, Martin Smith of that town was captured and taken to Canada. In the year 1694, a French and Indian force under McCastreen, made an attack upon the fort at Deerfield, but beyond killing Daniel Severance, a lad, in the meadows, and wounding John Beamont and Richard Lyman in the garrison, were able to do no damage. On the 18th of August, 1695, while a party of settlers were traveling from Hatfield to Deerfield, they were fired upon by a party of Indians, in the South part of Deerfield meadow, and Joseph Barnard received a mortal wound. In the Autumn of 1696, two residents of Deerfield, named Gillet and Smead, were surprised by Indians while out hunting, who succeeded in capturing Gillet, and then, entering Deerfield village, they killed the wife and three children of Daniel Belding, and took him and two other children prisoners. While devoted Deerfield was thus suffering under its annual decimation, the operations of Count Frontenac were directed much more fatally against other points of settlement, West and East, and were thus continued, year after year. The peace proclaimed between England and France, while it checked the hostilities of the French, had no effect upon their Indians, or those stragglers in New England who had been in their employ. In the Summer of 1698, a party of Indians attacked a man and a number of boys in Hatfield meadow, killing the man and one boy, and taking two boys prisoners. Taking the prisoners into their canoes, they paddled up the river. They were intercepted, when they had proceeded about twenty miles, by a pursuing force, and both lads were rescued, though at the expense of the life of Nathaniel Pomeroy—one of their deliverers. During a portion of these troublesome years, Connecticut kept a company of troops at Deerfield, and her gallant and liberal policy during this time, and, in fact, during the whole of Philip's War, is a matter to be gratefully remembered by every citizen of Massachusetts, and particularly by those of them who dwell upon the Connecticut.

It is a notable fact, and one not at all difficult of explanation on philosophical principles, that during the continuance of Philip's War, nothing was heard of witchcraft.

Something else occupied the public mind. After the excitement of the war had entirely died away, witchcraft revived, and one of the most remarkable instances occurred in Hadley. Hutchinson and Cotton Mather both notice it, the latter somewhat in detail, and from their accounts the following narrative is derived. Hutchinson, by the way, prefaces his statement by saying that in 1683, "the demons removed to Connecticut River again, where one Desborough's house was molested by an invisible hand, and a fire kindled, nobody knew how, which burnt up a great part of his estate." In what town on Connecticut River this singular event occurred is not stated, though Mather speaks of Nicholas Desborough of Hartford as being the object of sundry mysteriously projected missiles, such as stones, cobs of Indian corn, &c., and he is probably the man alluded to by Hutchinson. The subject of "the demons" in Hadley, was "a judge of the Court, a military officer, and a representative of the town of Hadley." Mr. Philip Smith, the bewitched man, is innocently alluded to as "an hypochondriac person," and Mather adds to his recommendations to the public respect, by stating that he was the "son of eminently virtuous parents, and a deacon of the church in Hadley." He was also "a man, for devotion, sanctity, gravity and all that was honest, exceedingly exemplary." There seems to have been nothing lacking in the chain of evidence to prove that he was in every respect a good citizen, a devout Christian, and a proper man. It appears that Mr. Smith was the almoner of the charities of the town, and that a wretched old woman, who thought she had cause to be dissatisfied with his dispensations, took it into her head to bewitch him. At the commencement of the Winter, he began to decline in health, and was troubled with ischiatic pains—a very common time of year for such pains to possess a man, even when not bewitched. Yet his mind was unclouded, and his religious experiences were such that "the standers-by could see in him one ripening apace for another world, and filled with grace and joy to an high degree." In this state of mind he did not hesitate to utter his suspicions against the old woman who had threatened him. He became, at last, profoundly impressed with the idea that he was suffering from the enchantments practiced by his feminine adversary. Under a premonition that he should lose his reason, he exclaimed to his brother—"be sure to have a care of me, for you shall see strange things. There shall be a wonder in Hadley! I shall not be dead, when 'tis thought I am!" This charge was often repeated, and when, at last, the delirium came, he cried out in various languages. He was tormented with pins sticking into various parts of his body, one of which his attendants found. The case was, of course, well known to all the inhabitants of the town, and excited much sympathy for the victim, and a corresponding degree of indignation toward his tormentor. Accordingly, some of the young men of the place visited the old woman's habitation, "dragged her out of the house, hung her up until she was near dead, let her down, rolled her sometime in the snow, and at last buried her in it;" but she was not to be rid of in that manner, and managed to make her way out, and get into her house again. But it was noticed that when these operations were in progress, Mr. Smith slept, and at this time, and at other similar proceedings against the old woman, he got the only quiet rest that he enjoyed during his illness. The house where he lay sick was, at times, pervaded by a very strong smell of musk, which, on one occasion, was so strong that an apple, roasting by the fire, became impregnated with the odor to such a degree, that they were obliged to throw it away. Little pots in his room, containing medicines, were unaccountably emptied, and scratchings were heard about the bed when his hands and feet were still. Fire was seen upon the bed, which, when the by-standers began to remark upon it, would vanish away. Divers people felt something as large as a cat moving in the bed, but could never grasp it, and some, leaning upon the head of the bed, would have their heads knocked by the shaking, when the sick man lay entirely still. A strong man could not stir the poor victim, to give him an easier position. He was like his bulk in lead. At last Mr. Smith died, and a jury sat upon him to determine the cause of his melancholy end. They "found a swelling on one breast, his privities wounded or burned, his back full of bruises, and several holes that seemed made with awls." Though he was pronounced dead, his prophecy made a show, at least, of holding good. He died on Saturday morning, but his lower jaw did not fall, his countenance was life-like, and when he was removed to his coffin, on Sunday afternoon, he was found to be still warm, though he had lain in a room of the temperature of a New England Winter of the olden time.

During the time he awaited burial, mysterious noises were heard in the room. Chairs and stools clattered, though no one touched them. But on Monday morning, his face had changed to black and blue, and gave issue to a sanguineous fluid that ran down upon his hair. So Mr. Smith was buried, while the old woman who had the credit of being his mediate murderess, was allowed to live—a most wise and sane disposition of her. This case, and the one already recorded as having occurred in Springfield, some forty years previously, are the only instances of the delusion that occurred within the limits of old Hampshire County. In neither instance were the supposed guilty parties put to death, and there is no evidence that the Hadley witch was subjected to trial.

During the continuance of King William's War, as that was called which prevailed between the French and English colonies, Springfield was less exposed to the incursions of the Indians than her Northern neighbors, and found time and opportunity to extend her population and enlarge her operations, aided at first as she was, by the peace that followed the death of Philip. As early even as 1673, the inhabitants of the Western shore of the Connecticut, in Springfield, had become so considerable that they petitioned that a boat might be built to ferry them over the river on the Sabbath, to enable them to attend public worship more conveniently. They were, doubtless, badly accommodated in this respect, even at a later date, for in 1683, Reice and John Bedortha, and Joseph Bedortha's wife, were drowned by the upsetting of the boat, while making the passage. In May, 1695, thirty-two families were residents of that side of the river, comprising a population of more than two hundred, and at this time they applied to the General Court for the privilege of settling a minister. Their distance from the house of worship in Springfield, and the dangers attending the crossing of the river, formed the basis of their petition, but they met the opposition of the town, and the General Court appointed a Committee to investigate the matter, and report at a subsequent session.

The report was favorable to the petitioners, and the November Court of 1696 "ordered, that the said petitioners be permitted and allowed to invite, procure and settle a learned and orthodox minister, on the West side of Connecticut River, to dispense the Word of God unto those that dwell there, and that they be a distinct and separate precinct for that purpose." Thus was established the second parish of Springfield. Subsequent action of the General Court required the people on the East side of the river to pay them £50 towards building their meeting house. This order seems to have met with a reluctant execution, for, as late as 1711, a portion of the sum was still due, and a committee of the new parish was appointed to demand the sum, and, if necessary, to institute a suit at law for it. A church was formed in June, 1698, and Rev. John Woodbridge was settled as the first pastor. The first meeting house was built in 1702. Mr. Woodbridge continued his ministry for twenty years, and died at the age of forty. The best description that can be given of him, and a noble epitaph it is, may be drawn from the diary of Rev. Dr. Williams of Longmeadow, recorded June 10, 1718, the day of his death: "I look upon this as a very great frown upon us all in this town, and in this part of the country; for Mr. Woodbridge was a man of great learning, of pleasant conversation, of a very tender spirit, very apt to communicate, one that had an excellent gift in giving advice and counsel, and so must be very much missed by us."

Springfield built a new meeting house in 1674, and on the 28th of March, 1692, as has already been stated, Mr. Glover, the minister, died. After three unavailing attempts to secure the settlement of Mr. John Haines in his place, a call to settle was extended to Mr. Daniel Brewer, which he accepted, and he became their minister, by appropriate ceremonials, on the 16th of May, 1694, and continued in the exercise of the duties of his office for nearly forty years. While these events were transpiring, the Long Meadow was receiving an augmented population, and preparing to follow the example of its neighbor on the other side of the river. On the incorporation of the Second Parish, the General Court ordered that there should be a division of the land that had been set apart for the use of the ministry, but no settlement of the matter seems to have been arrived at, until several years afterwards, when the division was effected through the agency of the two ministers, themselves. Springfield had within its boundaries a large amount of land, unappropriated and undivided, which was denominated the "outward commons." This land was located in the present towns of Wilbraham, Ludlow, and West Springfield. It was concluded to divide this body of land into five parts, three on the East side of the river, and two on the West, and, by cutting up these tracts, to give to each inhabitant his share. In 1699, the lots were drawn, but the land was not all surveyed, until more than forty years afterwards. In each of the five divisions, lots were appropriated for schools and for the ministry. Many disadvantages attended the manner in which the outward commons were allotted. The land was laid out into such long and narrow strips as to be of comparatively little value to the farmer. Settlements were not begun at Wilbraham until 1731, a delay principally attributable to this fact. In 1713, Longmeadow, containing but little less than forty families, was incorporated as the Third Parish of Springfield, and in 1716, Rev. Stephen Williams was ordained, as the first minister. He was the son of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, and preached in Longmeadow 65 years. Interesting events in his early history remain to be narrated.

The settlement of Rev. Solomon Stoddard in Northampton, in 1672, has already been briefly noticed. He was probably the most remarkable clergyman, in the points of talent and influence, that had thus far been settled in the Valley, and was regarded with a reverence that, possessing thoroughly the hearts of his people, extended throughout the colony, and even to the very hearts of the savages. His life is declared to have been spared on the occasion of his falling into an Indian ambuscade, by the exclamation that he was "the Englishman's God," made by one of the party of savages. He was noted particularly for the liberality, not to say laxity, of his views in matters of religion, maintaining that the Lord's table should be accessible to all persons not immoral in their lives, opposition to which doctrine in after years, cost his grandson and worthy successor in the ministry, Jonathan Edwards, the sacrifice of his office. Mr. Stoddard died in 1729.

CHAPTER IX.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

THE Indian difficulties, which, at the declaration of peace between England and France in 1697, it was hoped were past, were to be resumed upon the Connecticut, accompanied, in some instances, with more severe hardships than had hitherto been experienced. King William died in 1702, and Queen Anne reigned in his stead, and following closely upon the latter event, came another war between the two countries. This event, as in the reign of William and Mary, renewed the hostilities between the French and English colonies in America, and our history now opens upon some of the most remarkable scenes and adventures afforded by the whole series of trials that assailed Western Massachusetts at almost every step of its early progress.

At an early date of the renewed hostilities, the unfortunate settlement at Deerfield was apprised that it was the intention of the French to destroy it. Measures were taken to strengthen the fortifications, and to prepare, so far as possible, for the dreaded event. Small parties of Indians, who could not await the grand demonstration, haunted the region of the doomed town, and lay in wait to cut off such stragglers as might present themselves. On the 8th of October, 1703, Zebediah Williams and John Nims were captured in the meadow, at a small distance from the village, and taken to Canada, where the former died. Nims subsequently escaped and returned. No serious demonstrations were made from this time until the night of the 29th of February, when Major Hertel de Rouville, with upwards of 340 French and Indians, arrived at a pine bluff overlooking Deerfield meadow, about two miles North of the village—a locality now known as Petty's Plain. Here he halted, to await the appropriate hour for an attack, and it was not until nearly morning that, leaving their packs upon the spot, his men started forward for their work of destruction. Rouville took great pains not to alarm the sentinels in his approach, but the precaution was unnecessary, as the watch were unfaithful, and had retired to rest. Arriving at the fortifications, he found the snow drifted nearly to the top of the palisades, and his entire party entered the place undiscovered, while the whole population were in a profound sleep. Quietly distributing themselves in parties, they broke in the doors of the houses, dragged out the astonished inhabitants, killed such as resisted, and took prisoners the majority of the remainder, only a few escaping from their hands into the woods. The house of Rev. John Williams was assaulted at the commencement of the attack. Awakened from sleep, Mr. Williams leaped from his bed, and, running to the door, found the enemy entering. Calling to two soldiers who lodged in the house, he sprang back to his bed-room, seized a pistol, cocked it, and presented it at the breast of an Indian who had followed him. It missed fire, and it was well, for the room was thronged in an instant, and he was seized, bound without being allowed the privilege of dressing, and kept standing in the cold for an hour. In this distressing condition, the savages amused themselves with taunting him, swinging their hatchets over him, and threatening him. Two of his children and a negro woman were then taken to the door and butchered. Mrs. Williams, who had been confined in child-birth but a few weeks before, was allowed to dress, and herself and five children were taken as captives. John Sheldon's house, which the enemy found it hard to enter, was pierced by hatchets at the door; and a musket thrust through the opening, and discharged, killed Mrs. Sheldon, who was dressing in an adjoining room. The house was carried, and preserved from destruction to accommodate the captives that were taken, and brought in from the other parts of the village.

But the savage force did not gain their captives entirely without struggle and cost. The fort was carried, at the cost of eleven men. One house was defended by seven men, for whom the women within cast bullets while the fight was in progress. Singling out their victims, these brave fellows sent forth their impromptu bullets from every window and loop-hole, and neither threat nor stratagem could bring them to a surrender; and, leaving the house, the enemy paid it no attention further than to keep out of the way of it. Another house was defended with equal bravery and equal success. One after another, the captive families and individuals were brought into the depot, until, when the sun was about an hour high, the work was completed. The buildings had been plundered, and setting fire to such of them as could be approached, Rouville set out on his return to Canada with his captives. But one more touching scene, and that the slaughtered company of young men at Bloody Brook, has ever been witnessed in the Connecticut Valley, than that exhibited by this company of captives, as they turned out that morning, shivering with fear and cold, on their terrible pilgrimage over the snows of mid-winter to Canada. There were the pastor and his tender family; the strong man, his heart bleeding with sympathy, and his own trials forgotten in the distress of his bosom companion and his little ones; the young man and the maiden, the old man and the infant. In all, one hundred and eight persons were taken, and marched forth, guarded by their captors, upon the shining crust of snow that then covered the ground. Passing the meadow, they arrived at the point on Petty's Plain where Rouville had left his packs and snow-shoes, and here the company halted.. Here the prisoners were deprived of their shoes, and furnished with moccasins, to enable them to travel more easily, and all the preparations made for the long march through the Northern wilderness.

During the attack on Rev. Mr. Williams' house, one of the lodgers, Capt. Stoddard, leaped from the window of his room, and, seizing a cloak in his exit, made his escape. Tearing up his cloak, and binding the pieces upon his feet, he ran to Hatfield, and arrived there almost exhausted. Capt. John Sheldon's son escaped in the same manner, and reached Hatfield. A number of individuals in that town started immediately, probably upon horses, for Deerfield. On their arrival there, they found a number of those who had managed to escape from the clutches of the enemy, together with those left behind in the village, and joining them, bravely pushed on in pursuit of the retreating force. They overtook them while halting and making the preparation to march, already described. A sharp skirmish ensued, but becoming nearly surrounded by the enemy, they were obliged to retreat with the loss of nine of their noble little number. This statement is circumstantially given by Hoyt, but Rev. Mr. Williams, in his "Redeemed Captive," (a work from which most of these facts are drawn,) states that a company of the enemy remained in the town, but were beaten out and pursued by the English, until the main force came to their rescue. The slaughter inflicted in the taking of the town was a terrible one. No less than thirty-eight were killed, making the whole number, including those slain in the skirmish on the meadow, forty-seven.* The loss of the enemy was upwards of forty. In a list of the captives† drawn up by Stephen Williams, the pastor's son, and subsequently the minister at Longmeadow, it appears that fourteen of them were slain in the meadows after they left town. These were not all slain near the village, but probably during the first day's march, which was not more than four miles. The victims consisted of infants, and wounded and infirm persons. Two of the captives succeeded in escaping, and Mr. Williams was ordered to inform the others that if any more escapes should take place, death by fire would be visited upon those who remained.

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*The following are the names of those slain at the taking of the town: David Alexander, Thomas Carter, John Catlin, Jonathan Catlin, Sarah Field, Jonathan Hawks Jr. and his wife, Thankful Hawks, John Hawks, Martha Hawks, Samuel Hinsdale, Joseph Ingersol, Jonathan Kellogg, Philip Mattoon's wife and child, Parthena, (a negro,) Henry Nims, Mary Nims, Mehitable Nims, Sarah Price, Mary Root, Thomas Shelden, Mercy Shelden, Samuel Smead's wife and two children, Elizabeth Smead, Martin Smith, Serg. Benoni Stebbins, Andrew Stevens, Mary Wells, John Williams Jr., Jerusha Williams.—Those slain in the skirmish that took place in the meadow were Samuel Allis, Serg. Boltwood, Robert Boltwood, Joseph Catlin, Samuel Foot, David Hoit Jr., Jonathan Ingram, Serg. Benjamin Waite, Nathaniel Warner.

†The following is the list, those marked with an asterisk indicating those who were killed before getting far from the town:—Mary Alexander, Mary Alexander Jr., Joseph Alexânder, (ran away the first night,) Sarah Allen, Mary Allis, Thomas Baker, Simon Beaumont, Hepzibah Belding,* John Bridgman, (ran away in the meadow,) Nathaniel Brooks, Mary Brooks,* Mary Brooks Jr., William Brooks, Abigail Brown, Benjamin Burt, Hannah Carter,* Hannah Carter Jr.,* Mercy Carter, Samuel Carter, John Carter, Ebenezer Carter, Marah Carter,* John Catlin, Ruth Catlin, Elizabeth Corse,* Elizabeth Corse Jr., Daniel Crowfoot, Abigail Denio, Sarah Dickinson, Joseph Eastman, Mary Field, John Field, Mary Field Jr., Mary Frary,* Thomas French, Mary French,* Mary French Jr., Thomas French Jr., Freedom French, Martha French, Abigail French, Mary Harris, Samuel Hastings, Elizabeth Hawks, Mehuman Hinsdale, Mary Hinsdale, Jacob Hicks, (died at Coos,) Deacon David Hoit, (died at Coos,) Abigail Hoit, Jonathan Hoit, Sarah Hoit, Ebenezer Hoit, Abigail Hoit Jr., Elizabeth Hull, Thomas Hurst, Ebenezer Hurst, Benoni Hurst,* Sarah Hurst, Sarah Hurst Jr., Elizabeth Hurst, Hannah Hurst, Martin Kellogg, Martin Kellogg Jr., Joseph Kellogg, Joanna Kellogg, Rebecca Kellogg, John Marsh, Sarah Mattoon, Philip Mattoon, Frank,* a negro, Mehitable Nims, Ebenezer Nims, Abigail Nims, Joseph Petty, Sarah Petty, Joshua Pomeroy, Esther Pomeroy,* Samuel Price, Jemima Richards, Josiah

The first night's lodgings were provided for as comfortably as circumstances would permit, and all the able bodied among the prisoners were made to sleep in bonds. On the second day's march, Mr. Williams was permitted to speak with his poor wife, and to assist her on her journey. "On the way," says Mr. Williams, in his book, "we discoursed of the happiness of those who had a right to an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; and God for a father and friend; as also it was our reasonable duty quietly to submit to the will of God, and to say, 'The will of the Lord be done.'" Thus imparting to one another their heroic courage and Christian strength and consolation, they pursued their painful way. At last, the poor woman announced the gradual failure of her strength, and during the short time it was allowed her to remain with her husband expressed good wishes and prayers for him and her children. The narrative proceeds: "She never spake any discontented word as to what had befallen us, but, with suitable expressions, justified God in what had happened. We soon made a halt, in which time my chief surviving master came up, upon which I was put upon marching with the foremost, and so made my last farewell of my dear wife, the desire of my eyes, and companion in many mercies and afflictions. Upon our separation from each other,

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Rising, Hannah Shelden, Ebenezer Shelden, Remembrance Shelden, Mary Shelden, John Stebbins, Dorothy Stebbins, John Stebbins Jr., Samuel Stebbins, Ebenezer Stebbins, Joseph Stebbins, Thankful Stebbins, Elizabeth Stevens, Ebenezer Warner, Waitstill Warner Jr.,* Sarah Warner, Rev. John Williams, Mrs. Eunice Williams,* Samuel Williams, Eunice Williams Jr., Esther Williams, Warham Williams, John Weston, Judah Wright. Also three Frenchmen who had lived in Deerfield some time, and who came from Canada.

we asked for each other grace sufficient for what God should call us to." Mrs. Williams remained a short time where he left her, and occupied the leisure in reading her Bible. Her husband went on, and soon had to ford a small and rapid stream, and climb a high mountain on its other side. Reaching the top, and very much exhausted, he was unburdened of his pack, and then his heart went down the steep after his wife. He entreated his master to let him go down and help her, but his desire was refused. As the prisoners, one after another, came up, he inquired for her, and the news of her death was told to him. In wading the river, she was thrown down by the water, and entirely submerged, but succeeded in reaching the bank and the foot of the mountain, where her master became discouraged with the idea of her maintaining the march, and burying his tomahawk in her head, left her dead. Mrs. Williams was the daughter of Rev. Eleazer Mather, the first minister of Northampton—an educated, refined and noble woman, and the story of her sufferings is a most touching one. It is pleasant to think that her body was found, and brought back to Deerfield, where, in long years after, her husband was laid by her side. There sleeps the dust of the pair, and stones still standing inform the stranger of the interesting spot.

Others were killed upon the journey, as convenience required. One poor woman, with child, and near the time of travail, was dispatched on the fourth day. Arriving about thirty miles North of Deerfield, probably in the Northern part of Brattleboro, Vt., those of the Indians who had no captives became discontented, for some others of the number had five or six. Accordingly a halt was made, and a more equal distribution effected, and then sledges were constructed for the better conveyance of children, and those who were wounded. Stephen Williams, the pastor's son, was at that time eleven years old, but he kept a journal which has recently been published, and which states in an artless way: "They traveled (we thought) as if they meant to kill us all, for they traveled thirty-five or forty miles a day. * * * Their manner was, if any loitered, to kill them. My feet were very sore, so that I thought they would kill me also." When the first Sabbath arrived, Mr. Williams was allowed to preach.

His text was taken from the Lamentations of Jeremiah—the verse in which occurs the passage—"my virgins and my young men are gone into captivity." And thus they progressed, the life of the captives dependent, in every case, upon their ability to keep up with the party. Here an innocent child would be knocked upon the head and left in the snow, and there some poor woman, prostrated by a miscarriage, dropped by the way, and died by the merciful tomahawk, unmercifully dealt. Arriving at White River, Rouville divided his forces, and the parties took separate routes to Canada. The party to which Mr. Williams was attached went up White River, and proceeded, with various adventures, to Sorel in Canada, at which point some of the captives had preceded him. The party with which the most of Mr. Williams' children proceeded, kept on, up the Connecticut, and barely escaped death from famine, a fate which visited two of the captives.

Thus, those who survived had all arrived in Canada, and all were treated by the French with great humanity, and Mr. Williams with marked courtesy. He proceeded to Chamblee, from thence to St. Francis, on the St. Lawrence, afterwards to Quebec, and at last to Montreal, where Governor Vaudreuil treated him with much kindness, and redeemed him from savage hands. Mr. Williams' religious experiences in Canada were characteristic of the times. He was there thrown among Romanists, a sect against which he entertained the most profound dislike—profound to an inflammatory conscientiousness, not to say bigotry. His Indian master was determined he should go to church, but he would not, and was once dragged there, where he "saw a great confusion instead of any Gospel order." The Jesuits assailed him on every hand, and gave him but little peace. His master, at one time, tried to make him kiss a crucifix, under the threat that he would dash out his brains with a hatchet if he should refuse, but he did refuse, and had the good fortune to save his head as well as his conscience. Some of Mr. Williams' children were redeemed, and placed where he could see them, and all of them were promised him by the Jesuits, accompanied with a pension for his own and their support, if he would embrace the Romish faith, but the offensive offer met with a most ungracious reception. In short, the Deerfield captives proved to be rather intractable fellows. One of the Jesuits told the Governor that "he never saw such persons as were taken from Deerfield," and added—"the Macquas will not suffer any of their prisoners to abide in their wigwams whilst they themselves are at mass, but carry them with them to the church, and they cannot be prevailed with to fall down on their knees; but no sooner are they returned to their wigwams but they fall down on their knees to prayer."

One of Mr. Williams' daughters, Eunice, only seven years old at the time she was carried to Canada, he had the privilege of once visiting. He talked with her about an hour, and ascertained that she had not forgotten her catechism. The little girl was very desirous to be set at liberty, and bemoaned her hard lot. She was told to pray to God every day, and she replied that she did, as she was able, and God helped her. "But," said she, "they force me to say some prayers in Latin, but I don't understand one word of them." All possible efforts were afterwards made by the Governor and his lady to effect her redemption, but without avail. The plastic little creature not long afterwards forgot, not only her catechism but her language, adopted the Indian habits of life, and became in fact and feeling a savage. And there among them was she left at last, and on arriving at womanhood, she married an Indian by whom she had a family of children. A few years after the war, she and her husband, with other Indians, visited Deerfield. She was dressed in Indian costume, and all the inducements held out to her to remain at her old home were unavailing. She visited Longmeadow twice subsequently, with her tawny companion, to see her brother, and old fellow captive, who, since his return, had grown up, and become the first pastor of the church in Longmeadow. The General Court granted them a piece of land on condition that they would remain in New England, but she refused, on the ground that it would endanger her soul. She lived and died in savage life, though nominally a convert to Romanism, and out of her singular fate has grown another romance, which has been the marvel of later times. From her descended Rev. Eleazer Williams, late missionary to the Indians at Green Bay, Wisconsin, the pretended Dauphin of France. In 1706, Mr. Williams and his remaining children, with other captives, raising the number to fifty-seven, embarked on board a ship sent to Quebec by Governor Dudley, and sailed for Boston. Of those who were carried to Canada, twenty-eight permanently remained, and these principally intermarried with the French, became attached to the country, and nearly all became Romanists. Their names and descendents still live in Canada, and many now living in the Connecticut Valley would feel astonished in being brought face to face with kindred blood, that now rattles bad French in Canada, or sputters Indian in the North and Northwest. It has already been said that Mr. Williams was laid by the side of his wife at last; and Deerfield, after his return, was his home until he died. A Committee from his people met him on his landing at Boston, and invited him to return to the charge, from which he had, nearly three years before, been torn. And Mr. Williams had the courage to do it, notwithstanding the war continued with unabated bitterness. In 1707, the town voted to build him a house, "as big as Ensign Sheldon's, and a back room as big as may be thought convenient." "Ensign Sheldon's house," by the way, has been seen by nearly every one who has traveled through the Connecticut Valley. It was the "old Indian house in Deerfield," as it has been popularly called, and stood at the Northern end of Deerfield Common, exhibiting to its latest day the marks of the tomahawk upon its door in the attack of 1704, and the perforations made by the balls inside. The house was torn down recently, but the door is preserved, and should ever be preserved as a valuable memento of the dangers and trials of early times. Mr. Williams took a new wife into his new house, had several children by her, and died in 1729.

The inhabitants of Deerfield had abandoned their settlement twice, but, notwithstanding the hard fare they had experienced, and the dangers to which they must necessarily be still exposed, they determined not to leave it again. It was not long after the departure of the captives in 1704, that two individuals—John Allen and his wife—were killed about two miles South of Deerfield, at a place called "the Bars." This was on the 10th of the following May, and as the Indians killed Allen upon the spot, and took his wife a mile or two away before dispatching her, they probably calculated to carry her also to Canada. A few days afterwards, one Kindness, a friendly Indian, was killed at Hatfield mill, but the enemy had no time to scalp him. About the same time, Thomas Russell was killed North of Deerfield. He was attached to the garrison at Deerfield, and was sent into the woods as a scout, but wandered from his companions, and was cut off. He belonged in Hatfield. John Hawks, while on the way from Deerfield to Hatfield, fell into an ambuscade and was killed. The Indians in small and unimportant parties at this time seem to have hung around all the settlements on the river. Dr. Crossman, while riding in the night between Hadley and Springfield, was fired upon and wounded in the arm. A scout on the way between Northampton and Westfield were attacked by Indians, one of them killed and two taken captive. These Indians fell in with another scout which killed three of their number, and released the two prisoners. Scouts at this time were kept out in every direction. Lieut. Caleb Lyman, with the insignificant force of five friendly Indians, marched to Coos, on the Connecticut at the North, where abode a remnant of the force that invaded Deerfield in the preceding February, and coming to a cabin containing ten Indians, fired upon, and killed seven at the first shot. The other three were wounded, but escaped. Lieut. Lyman returned without the loss of a man. In 1705, no movements worthy of note occurred. In July, 1706, Samuel Chapin and his brother, of Springfield, went up to their farm in the North part of the town, and on discovering signs of Indians, fled back toward their homes, followed by the foe that had calculated on entrapping them. One shot was discharged, hitting Samuel Chapin in the side, but not inflicting a fatal wound. About this time, Mary McIntosh was killed at Brookfield, while milking the cows. Robert Grainger and John Clary were shot in the same town, and Thomas Battis of that town, while riding post to Hadley, was killed somewhere upon the present territory of Belchertown. John Woolcott, a boy, was taken at Brookfield, and carried to Canada, where he remained among the Indians so long as to lose his native language. In 1708, a body of infantry and cavalry, commanded by Col. Whiting, were sent up from Connecticut, to guard the frontier towns upon the North, and a scout from his force returning from White River, lost one of its number, named Barber, and Martin Kellogg Jr. was taken prisoner. During this year, Samuel and Joseph Parsons of Northampton, sons of Capt. John Parsons, were killed by the Indians while in the woods. On the 26th of July, that year, seven or eight Indians attacked the house of Lieut. Wright at Skipmuck, in Springfield, and killed "old Mr. Wright," and Aaron Parsons and Barijah Hubbard—a couple of soldiers—knocked two children on the head, one of whom died, and took Henry Wright's wife captive, and probably killed her afterwards. Lieut. Wright and a daughter escaped.

In 1707, another expedition was fitted out from Massachusetts against Port Royal, N. S. Two regiments under the command of Col. March embarked at Nantasket, in twenty-three vessels, and proceeded under the convoy of two war-ships, but the whole affair miscarried. Thirty lives were lost, and the expense to the colony was £22,000. This expedition was followed, in the succeeding year, by the fitting out of a large expedition of French and Indians in Canada to go against the frontier settlements of New England. This expedition fell upon other quarters than the Connecticut, and had the effect to bring out another English expedition in the following year against the French provinces. This expedition was an extensive affair, and contemplated nothing less than the complete reduction of the French in North America. Five regiments of troops were to be sent from England. To these were to be added twelve hundred troops, to be raised in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, and the combined force was to go against Quebec. Fifteen hundred troops, to be raised in the other colonies, were to proceed by the way of the lakes, and attack Montreal. Complications with allied powers arose at the very moment of embarking the English troops for the Quebec expedition, and they were sent in another direction. Thus, this part of the enterprise failed. The force bound for Montreal assembled at Albany, and made progress on their journey, but a terrible sickness breaking out among the troops, and the commander becoming aware of the failure of the other wing of the enterprise, returned to Albauy, and disbanded his army. While these movements, which looked formidable, at least, were in progress, the French still kept out their parties of savages upon the New England frontiers. On the 11th of April, 1709, while Mehuman Hinsdale was returning with his team from Northampton, he was taken prisoner by two Indians, who took him to Chamblee in eleven days and a half. This was Mr. Hinsdale's second experience, he having made one of the Deerfield company of captives. He suffered much from imprisonment, being obliged to run the gantlet, &c. At last, he was taken from the Indians, sent to France, and, after an absence of three years and a half, found his way back to his family. Mr. Hinsdale was the first male child born in Deerfield, a fact which his grave stone, now standing in that town, duly commemorates. In May, John Wells and John Burt, (belonging to a scouting party of ten which had penetrated to Lake Champlain, and killed and wounded more than they numbered themselves,) were killed in a skirmish on Onion River, in Vermont. In June, another attack was arranged by the enemy, to be made upon Deerfield. One of the Rouvilles, (a brother of the leader of the previous expedition against the town,) appeared at the head of 180 French and Indians, but this time the Deerfield people were not asleep, and were so well prepared against an enemy, that Rouville withdrew. While his force lay in the vicinity, Joseph Clesson and John Arms were captured, and Lieut. Taylor and Isaac Mattoon killed. In 1710, about the middle of July, six men of Brookfield, while making hay in the meadows, were surprised by a party of Indians, and all of them killed. Their names were Ebenezer Hayward, John White, Stephen and Benjamin Jennings, John Grosvenor and Joseph Kellogg.

In 1710, an English fleet, with a regiment of marines, and four regiments of provincial troops, proceeded against, and captured Port Royal, and not long after this event, Col. Nicholson, who commanded the land expedition on the previous year, went to England to interest the Government in another expedition against Canada, and effected his object. On the 30th of July, 1711, a large fleet left Boston with a force of 7,000 regulars and provincials; but eight or nine of their transports were lost, with about 1,000 men, by being wrecked, and the expedition returned without effecting anything. This was the fourth expedition made against Canada. In the aggregate, they had involved an immense cost, and had never accomplished anything except the more complete exasperation of the French. At the same time that the last fleet sailed from Boston, Col. Nicholson started from Albany, with a force nearly as large, but receiving news of the failure of the armament, he again returned, and disbanded his troops. During this year, no hostilities of importance were exhibited on the Connecticut. In 1713, the long war in Europe ended, and hostilities soon ceased between the belligerent colonies. The next year Col. Stoddard of Northampton went to Canada to make arrangements for an exchange of prisoners, and now the distressed and long suffering settlers upon the Connecticut breathed freely again.

CHAPTER X.

NEW SETTLEMENTS ON THE CONNECTICUT—FIRST SETTLEMENTS ON THE HOUSATONIC.

DURING "Queen Anne's War," the settlers had again suffered a period of retrogradation. Not an advance had been made in any quarter, save, perhaps, in Springfield and its immediate region. As soon as the war was over, however, the owners of Northfield moved for a re-settlement, and made an application to the General Court for liberty to return. The Court, February 22d, 1714, accordingly passed an order, reviving the grant made in 1672, and appointed Samuel Partridge, John Pynchon, (son of Maj. John Pynchon,) Samuel Porter, John Stoddard and Henry Dwight, a committee to examine all claims of individuals to lands in the plantation, and to enter their names, with such others as should join them in re-establishing the plantation, preference to be given in all cases to the descendents of the original grantees. The town lots were ordered to be small, so that they might be the more easily defensible, and 250 acres to be reserved for the disposition of the Government. The conditions of the grant were that forty families be settled within three years, and that an orthodox minister be procured and encouraged to settle with them. On the 14th of April, sixteen persons appeared before the Committee, proved their claims, and entered into articles of agreement. Among these articles was one fixing the site of the village in its original location. The Committee who had the general ordering of affairs at first, two days after this appointed Deacon Ebenezer Wright to be the town clerk, and Capt. Benjamin Wright, Lieut. John Lyman, Dea. Ebenezer Wright, Judah Hutchinson and Sergeant Thomas Taylor, to be measurers of land, *pro tempore*. On the 11th of July, peace was concluded with the Eastern Indians, and the old proprietors of Northfield flocked back, rebuilt their houses, and, with other settlers, established upon a permanent footing the town of Northfield. They built a church, and, in

1718, when the town contained about thirty families, they settled for their minister Rev. Benjamin Doolittle of Wallingford, Ct.

In 1701, John Pynchon, Capt. Thomas Colton, James Warriner, David Morgan and Joseph Stebbins were appointed by the General Court to lay out the town subsequently called Brimfield, and to have for five years the ordering of the prudential affairs of the place. The tract was originally eight miles square, and comprised the present towns of Brimfield, Monson, Wales and Holland. The Indian disturbances that followed, for many years, interfered with the settlement of the plantation to any extent. It had been growing in population until 1731, when, after considerable discussion in the General Court, the grants made by the original Committee were confirmed. The ordination of Rev. Richard Treat, the first minister, took place in 1725.

About this time, settlements began to multiply in every direction. Easthampton, then composing a part of the town of Northampton, was settled as early, in fact, as 1700. Southampton, in the same township, followed in 1732. South Hadley, the second precinct of Hadley, was settled as early as 1721. In 1732, Belchertown was settled. A Scotch Presbyterian church was formed in Palmer about 1730, a few years after the place had been settled by a company of emigrants from the North of Ireland. Sunderland, a township granted to inhabitants of Hadley in 1673, was incorporated in 1714. Thus, leaving for a while the active movements in progress in the Connecticut Valley, our history returns to notice appropriately a marked event becoming buried in the retiring years, and then passes on to new scenes and a wider field.

In 1703 died Maj. John Pynchon. His name has occurred more frequently in these pages than any other. It is because it was used during his life in connection with every important enterprise on the Connecticut River. He was on every commission and committee. The greater part of his life was occupied in public service. He came to Springfield when but ten years old. He lived in it nearly one-third of the time that has transpired since its settlement. He was a magistrate in the local Courts nearly or quite all the time from the age of twenty-six to the time of his death, which took place when he had arrived at the good old age of 76. He was, for a considerable period, the chief in military command in the county, was repeatedly chosen an assistant of the colony, was of the Council of New England in the time of Sir Edmund Andross, (a place which he held from a desire to serve the people, and not from sympathy with the arbitrary measures of the day,) and a Councillor under the new colonial charter. All the trusts reposed in him, and all the offices conferred upon him, he discharged with remarkable ability, entire faithfulness, and with wide acceptation. He was loved, honored and revered in all the complicated relations of a long, laborious and useful life, and when he was gathered home, like a shock fully ripe, he was missed not by Springfield alone, nor alone by Hampshire County, but by New England, in all parts of which his name was familiar.

On the 30th day of January, 1722, one hundred and seventy-six inhabitants of Hampshire County petitioned the General Court for two townships of land situated on the Housatonic River, at the South Western corner of the Massachusetts patent. The petition was granted, and the townships ordered to contain seven miles square, each. John Stoddard of Northampton, Henry Dwight of do., Luke Hitchcock of Springfield, John Ashley of Westfield, Samuel Porter of Hadley, and Ebenezer Pomeroy of Northampton, were appointed a committee for dividing the tract, granting lots, admitting settlers, &c. The committee were instructed to reserve lands for the first minister, for the subsequent maintenance of the ordinances of the gospel, and for the support of schools; and to demand of each man to whom they should make a grant, thirty shillings for every hundred acres, to be expended in extinguishing the Indian claims, paying expenses for laying out the lands, and in building meeting houses in the townships. This committee met in the following March, at Springfield, and fifty-five settlers received grants, complying with the conditions attached to them. Measures were taken to purchase the land contained in the grants, of the Indians, and, on the 25th of April, 1724, a deed was executed by them, conveying a tract bounded on the South by the divisional line between Massachusetts and Connecticut, West by the colony of New York, Eastward to a line four miles from the Housatonic River, "and in a general way so to extend;" and North "to the great mountain." The Indians made certain reservations of planting and other land, and received in consideration the sum of £460 in money, three barrels of cider and thirty quarts of rum. Saying nothing of the liquor, this would seem to be the largest sum ever paid in Western Massachusetts for the extinguishment of an Indian title.

The deed thus given embraced the present towns of Sheffield, Egremont, Mount Washington, Great Barrington, Alford, a considerable part of Lee, and the larger part of Stockbridge and West Stockbridge. These two townships were known before their later division into towns, as the "upper and lower Housatonic townships." On the Indian reservation, not more than four or five families resided, and these remained only temporarily, removing subsequently to Stockbridge, as will be hereafter more particularly noticed. In 1725, John Ashley and Ebenezer Pomeroy, members of the committee, divided the lower township into lots for settlers, and, very soon afterwards, settlers came in and planted themselves upon the river bank, in the present town of Sheffield. The settlers were mostly from Westfield, but were not long allowed to remain undisturbed in their possessions. At that time, the division line between New York and Massachusetts was an uncertain affair, and as the colonial authorities of New York saw Massachusetts parceling out lands that they supposed belonged to themselves, they made a grant of the same lands to certain Dutchmen of their own. It would seem, too, that Massachusetts was so uncertain in regard to the matter that the Governor forbade any further settlement, as well as the commencement of legal process against the New Yorkers who had molested those already settled. These troubles were not of long duration, and were soon obviated. The original settlers numbered about sixty. The first settler was Obadiah Noble of Westfield, who spent one Winter there entirely alone, or, with no other companions than the Indians. Returning to Westfield in the Spring, he started in June to resume his residence upon the Housatonic, taking with him his daughter, only sixteen years of age. She went on horseback, taking her bed upon the horse with her, and lodged one night in the wilderness, while making the passage. And this was the beginning of the settlement of Berkshire County, and occurred but a few years more than a century ago! The settlement had progressed so far in 1733, that it was incorporated as a town by the name of Sheffield, the name probably being taken from Sheffield in England. The first town meeting was held at the house of Obadiah Noble, on the 16th of January, in that year, and Hezekiah Noble was chosen town clerk, and John Smith, Philip Callendar and Daniel Kellogg, selectmen. At the same meeting it was voted to erect a meeting house, forty-five by thirty-five feet in dimensions. A minister was immediately and constantly employed thereafter, and in 1735, the meeting house was erected, a church organized, and Mr. Jonathan Hubbard of Sunderland ordained as its first minister. He continued to preach to the people for 29 years, when he was dismissed.

Though the Indian settlement in lower Housatonic was very small, it did not comprise all the natives within the territory granted. The tribe, however, was very much reduced in numbers, and Konkapot, the chief, of whom the land was bought, with eight or ten families, lived in that part of the territory of upper Housatonic now covered by Stockbridge. The minority lived on the reservation in the lower township already alluded to, called by them Skatehook. Among these families, in the Autumn of 1734, Mr. John Sergeant, then a candidate for the ministry, and Timothy Woodbridge, a school-master, commenced the work of a Christian mission. The Board of Commissioners for Indian affairs encouraged them, and they commenced their labor. But the division of the settlements, being about ten miles apart, interfered with its efficient progress, and to obviate the inconvenience, the Indians came to an agreement to dwell together during the Winter season, at a point half way between the settlements. Here a house was erected for a church and a school, and around it the Indians built their huts. Their separation in the Spring, to pursue their planting, broke all up again, and as it was supposed that other families of the tribe, living beyond the bounds of the patent, would be attracted by the school, it was found advisable to devise some plan for their dwelling permanently together. The General Court becoming aware of the condition of things, made a grant to the Indians, in 1735, of a township six miles square, to lie upon the Housatonic River at the North of Monument Mountain, provided the proprietors of upper Housatonic would release their claims to such of the land granted as had regularly come into their possession, and as would necessarily be embraced within the lines of the new township. To compass this latter end, a committee, consisting of John Stoddard, Ebenezer Pomeroy and Thomas Ingersoll, was appointed, to settle such preliminaries and difficulties as presented themselves. They were directed to confer with the Indians, and, if they should consent, to sell their reservation in lower Housatonic, and apply the proceeds, so far as they would go, to the satisfaction of the disturbed proprietors of the upper township, and to indemnify the settlers entirely by making over to them other ungranted lands in the province. If these matters could be arranged, they were to proceed and lay out the plantation. Two or three Dutchmen, who had settled above the mountain, made some difficulty, but it was at last arranged, and the township laid out for the Indians, one-sixtieth part being reserved for the missionary, another sixtieth for the school-master, and another tract sufficient for the accommodation of four English families. The town was laid out in an exact square, comprising 23,040 acres, of which 9,240 acres were taken from the upper Housatonic township. The survey included the present towns of Stockbridge and West Stockbridge. In May, 1736, the Indians removed to their new home. Other families followed, so that, in June, the population numbered ninety individuals. In the following August, some of the Indians accompanied Mr. Sergeant to Boston, on a visit to Gov. Belcher, expressed their thanks to him for what had been done for them, gave up their claim to a strip of land two miles wide, extending from Westfield to the Housatonic townships, and asked the assistance of the Government in building a meeting house and school house. In 1737, their prayer was granted, and two years subsequently their town was incorporated by the name of Stockbridge, and the public houses alluded to were completed during the same year. In 1829, the frame of the meeting house was still standing, and was in use as a barn. Here the Indians were increased by accessions to their numbers from without, until they reached and probably surpassed the number of 400 souls. At the close of 1785, they had all removed to New Stockbridge, a town granted to them by the Oneidas in New York, and subsequently they moved still further West—to Green Bay, on the Southern shore of Lake Michigan.

The mission among the Stockbridge Indians was attended with good and useful results. It secured the friendship of the Indians in the subsequent French wars, and not only in these, but, in the war of the Revolution, were they active in their sympathy with the settlers and the colonies, sometimes acting as spies, sometimes as guides and interpreters, and sometimes as regular members of the Colonial Militia. The school established by Mr. Woodbridge was continued by him, and by his successor, John Sergeant, Jr., until the Indians left for New Stockbridge, and through its instrumentality, all the Indian children of the settlement had the privilege of acquiring, and probably did acquire, a common education. Beyond and above this school, Mr. Sergeant projected another, which attracted not only the favorable notice of the Indian Commissioners at Boston, but of prominent men abroad. The plan of Mr. Sergeant was, "that a tract of land of about two hundred acres should be set aside for the use of the school, and a house erected upon it; that a number of children and youth between the ages of ten and twenty should be received, and placed under the care of two masters, one of whom should take the oversight of them in their hours of labor, and the other in their hours of study, and that their time should be so divided between the hours of labor and study, as to make one the diversion of the other; that the fruits of their labors should go towards their maintenance, &c." Abroad, this project secured the warm approval of the Prince of Wales, who headed a subscription for it with twenty guineas. Mr. Isaac Hollis made an individual provision for the instruction of 24 Indian boys. This project was the favorite child of Mr. Sergeant, and he labored for it with spirit and assiduity. Troubles connected with the French War, commenced in 1744, delayed the establishment of the school until 1749, when a house was built, and Rev. Gideon Hawley, afterwards missionary at Marshpee, became the teacher; and when he retired, it was instructed for a time by Rev. Cotton Mather Smith. But the school, owing to the disturbances occasioned by the last French War, never accomplished the sanguine hopes of its projector and patrons. Still, by its aid, and by the steady operation of the common school, a number of the Indians received a really respectable education, were fitted for all the ordinary transactions of business, and uniformly sustained a portion of the town offices.

From first to last, of the continuance of the mission, about one hundred Indians became professors of Christianity. At first, ignorant of their language, Mr. Sergeant instructed them by the aid of an interpreter, but this was working at a disadvantage, and three years after his settlement among them, he began to speak to them of religion in their own language. At about this time, the settlement had an accession to its number of the four English settlers for whom provision had been made in the laying out of the town. Three of them—Col. Ephraim Williams, Josiah Jones and Ephraim Brown—came from the Eastern or central portion of the Colony, while Joseph Woodbridge, the brother of the school-master, went from Springfield, on the West side of the river. This accession, while it benefited the mission and the missionaries in many ways, increased very materially the labors of Mr. Sergeant, who then became obliged to preach in both languages. And, indeed, his life was one of great and varied labor. He translated the more important portions of the Bible into the Indian language, carried on an extensive correspondence with the friends and patrons of the mission, and maintained intimate personal relations with his flock. This arduous work he carried on until 1749, when he died, at the comparatively early age of 39. The effect of his labors upon his savage pastorate was marked and happy, in all the features of the civilization that sprang up beneath his assiduous hand. Following him as the pastor of this interesting church came Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton. Here this learned and remarkable man attended most acceptably to the duties of the ministry, and found time to complete his great work, 'The Inquiry concerning the freedom of the Will,' to compose his treatise on Original Sin, and to carry forward and complete other works that subsequently appeared. In 1758, he accepted the Presidency of Princeton College, but he died soon after assuming the duties of his new station. President Edwards won a name as a metaphysician and theologian, second to none in America, of which his works, read with increasing interest, for their vigor, wonderful clearness, and marvellous exhibitions of familiarity with the operations of the human heart, are the abiding monument. Rev. Dr. Stephen West succeeded Pres. Edwards in Stockbridge, in 1759, but in 1775, the white inhabitants of the town having increased very much meanwhile, he relinquished his charge of the Indians to Mr. Sergeant, the son of the original missionary already alluded to as the successor of Mr. Woodbridge in the school, and preached only to the English. Mr. Sergeant maintained the relation of pastor to the Indians while they remained in Stockbridge, and subsequently removed to their new home, where he continued until his death in 1824. It is a singular fact in the history of Dr. West that, by reading the writings of his predecessor, and by conversations with his friend, Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Great Barrington, he became convinced of his lack of Christianity, gave up his Christian hope, and became the subject of a new, and as he trusted, genuine religious experience, after he had been for some time instructing his Stockbridge flock in the things of religion.

In 1735, the communication between the Connecticut River settlements and the lower Housatonic township became so considerable, that it was found necessary to cut a road from Westfield to the new settlement at the West. This road divided the gift of land subsequently made by the Stockbridge Indians to the Government, and on the 15th of January, in the year above mentioned, the General Court ordered that four townships should be laid out upon the road between Westfield and Sheffield, contiguous in position, and either joining Sheffield, or the township granted in 1732 to proprietors of common and undivided lands in Suffield, Ct., as an equivalent for lands taken from them in establishing the dividing line between Massachusetts and Connecticut,—a territory now occupied by the town of Blandford. These towns were to be "six miles square, to contain each sixty-three home-lots, laid out in compact and defensible form, one of which was to be for the first settled minister, one for the second settled minister, one for schools, and one for each grantee, which shall draw equal shares in all future divisions." It was further provided that the grantees should be such petitioners as had not been grantees and settlers for the seven years preceding, and as should give security in £40 each for the performance of the usual conditions. Ebenezer Burrill and Edmund Quincy, of the upper House, and John Ashley, Capt. Stephen Skiffe and John Fisher of the Assembly, were appointed a Committee to open these townships; and lay out and grant the lands. The townships were numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4, No. 1 being the town of Tyringham; 2, New Marlborough; 3, Sandisfield; and 4, Becket. Thus was completed a string of contiguous townships from the Connecticut to the Western boundary of the patent.

The Indian title to the lands contained in the new townships was extinguished, the purchase also embracing lands known afterwards as the North and South Eleven Thousand acres, and the Tyringham Equivalent, or lands granted to proprietors of Tyringham for certain losses sustained by the interference of private grants, and the encroachment made by the survey of the upper Housatonic township. This increase of territory induced the General Court to increase the proprietors in each township to 67, and between the four townships the North Eleven Thousand acres, called Bethlehem, and the South Eleven Thousand acres, called Southfield, were divided. Bethlehem and Loudon, (the name given to the Tyringham equivalent,) now constitute the town of Otis, while Southfield is embraced within the present bounds of Sandisfield.

Tyringham and New Marlboro received their first settlers in 1739. A saw-mill was erected by a few individuals in Becket in 1740, but from fear of the Indians the settlement was abandoned, and not until 1755, was a permanent settlement made. Sandisfield received its first English population in 1750. The present town of Great Barrington, formed of portions of both the upper and lower Housatonic townships, was settled as early as 1730, and in 1740, was established as the second parish of Sheffield. Egremont, on the boundary line between Massachusetts and New York, and composed of territory taken from the lower Housatonic township, the original Indian reservation in that township extending through the town, was settled about 1730, though it is supposed to have been settled at an earlier period by individuals from New York, who considered themselves within the boundaries of that colony. There were probably some inhabitants in the town of Alford, taken subsequently from the Housatonic township, to a large extent, as early as 1740.

The rapid settlement of these Western townships, shows how the strength and population of the colonies had increased from the days when the settlements in the Connecticut Valley were in their infancy. A difficult road was cut from the new settlements to the more populous towns of the Connecticut Valley almost at once. Preliminaries were arranged with rapidity, settlers were abundant, private means were not wanting, and the long century of struggle through which the towns upon the Connecticut passed was contracted upon the Housatonic, to a brief and comparatively unimportant space of time. In 1731, the inhabitants of that part of Hampshire County bordering its Eastern boundary, with those on the territory adjoining, had become so considerable in numbers, that they were set off into a distinct county by the name of Worcester. In the Autumn of 1735, the first settlement was made at Blandford. Settlements were commenced in the present towns of Colerain and Charlemont not far from this time, and all was progressing prosperously, when another period of disturbance and war broke in upon the peaceful and prosperous labors of the inhabitants.

CHAPTER XI.

RESUMPTION OF FRENCH AND INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

IN 1744, war was declared between England and France, and again, as on every previous occasion, the American Colonies of the two Governments were thrown into immediate hostility. Though a number of Indians had returned to the region of the Connecticut, and had not only lived at peace with the inhabitants, but professed for them the firmest friendship, the first scent of war set them wild, and transformed them into the most pitiless of enemies. Leaving their lodges, they all started for Canada, even discharging their guns upon the houses of the frontier settlers, as they retired into the Northern wilderness, to place themselves at the service of the French. The Massachusetts General Court, in consequence of the onset of war, ordered the establishment of a line of forts, to protect the North Western frontiers of the colony, or, rather, to intercept the descent upon the settlements of such of the enemy as might choose that passage, while Fort Dummer, built some twenty years earlier, in the present town of Vernon, Vt., was relied upon to guard the more favorite route down the Connecticut. Accordingly, a fort was established at Hoosac, now Adams, and called Fort Massachusetts; another in the present town of Heath, called Fort Shirley; and another in Rowe, called Fort Pelham. These forts were, of course, built at the expense of the colony, while the Government made grants as a return for the erection of minor works at the more exposed points of settlement. There was a small fort at Blandford, as well for the protection of the settlers, as a road-station for the safety and accommodation of the travel between the Connecticut and the Hudson rivers. For the new forts, and for the replenishment of the forces in the old, five hundred men were raised, two-fifths of the number being designed for the Western part of the colony, and powder in large quantities was sent out to the frontier towns to be sold at first cost.

At this time, Col. John Stoddard, of Northampton, a man of mark, decision, and large influence, was the Commander of the Hampshire regiment, and to him was intrusted the defense of the Western frontiers. The Western forts were under the immediate supervision of Capt. Ephraim Williams, who had his head quarters at Fort Massachusetts, and who managed affairs with great industry and efficiency. Scouts, assisted by companies of trained dogs, were kept constantly passing from fort to fort, to detect any trail of Indians, and to see that no body of the enemy passed their line of survey without their knowledge. Scouts were induced to enter into this arduous work by a bounty of £30 offered by the province for every Indian scalp. But no Indians made their appearance during the year 1744, and though they made some not very important demonstrations beyond the reach of the forts, in 1745, the vigilance of the scouts during the entire year was rewarded with no discovery of, or collision with, the enemy. In the following year, numerous petty visitations of savage cruelty were made upon the frontier settlements of New Hampshire. An attack was made upon a fortified house in Bernardston, but the Indians were repulsed by three men, who killed two of the enemy. John Burke, one of the first settlers of the town, a man who, subsequently, won a high reputation in the field, was one of the defenders of the house, and received a slight wound. This attack was followed up with small demonstrations, in various quarters, though they were chiefly made upon the frontier settlements of New Hampshire. The Indians, on retiring from Bernardston, passed through the territory of Colerain, and Mathew Clark, his wife and daughter, with a guard of two soldiers, fell into an ambuscade prepared by them, and Mr. Clark was killed; but the soldiers returned the fire, and succeeding in killing one of the enemy, so far checked them that they managed to get into an adjacent fort with their charge. John Hawks and John Mills were wounded near Fort Massachusetts, on the same day, but succeeded in getting within the walls without losing their lives. In fact, the attack was made by only two Indians, and Hawks continuing the fight after Mills had retreated, might have taken both the enemy prisoners, as they asked for quarter, but he did not understand their language. In July, Benjamin Wright received a mortal wound at Northfield, and a man named Bliss was killed at Greenfield. During the same month, Elisha Nims and Gershom Hawks, belonging to a reconnoitering party sent out from Fort Massachusetts, were wounded badly, and Benjamin Tenter taken captive.

No attacks of importance took place, from this time until the 20th of August, when an army of French and Indians, under Gen. De Vaudreuil, their numbers variously stated at 800 (Hoyt) and 900 (Rev. John Taylor, in his appendix to Williams' "Redeemed Captive,") appeared before Fort Massachusetts. A more unfortunate time for the garrison could not have been chosen, as its ammunition was nearly exhausted, and there were but 22 able men in the fort. The French General made propositions to Serg. John Hawks, then in command of the fort, to surrender, but he declined, thinking, perhaps, that succor might reach him during the time which he might be able to delay his surrender. The attack was accordingly commenced, and the brave little garrison defended the fort against forty times their number, for *twenty-eight hours*. During all this time, the enemy were kept at a respectful distance, and some of them were shot, at the long reach of sixty rods, when they supposed themselves entirely beyond the arm of danger. At the end of this long and most gallant defense, the ammunition of the garrison became exhausted, and no choice but surrender was left, and even then the commander of the garrison made his terms. One of the conditions was that none of the prisoners, numbering 33 men, women and children, should be delivered to the Indians. Vaudreuil made the pledge, and the very next day, under the pretense that the Indians were mutinous in consequence of withholding prisoners from them, one half of the number were delivered over to them, and one of the number was immediately killed, in consequence of being too sick to travel. The garrison lost but one man in the attack, while the enemy lost, in killed and mortally wounded, forty-five. The captives were treated as humanely as circumstances would allow, and all but the murdered man arrived in Canada. Twelve of them, however, were taken sick and died there, but the remainder, with other prisoners, arrived at Boston on the 16th of August, 1747, nearly a year after their capture, under a flag of truce, and were redeemed. This affair, one of the most gallant in the whole history of the frontier wars, has invested the locality of old Fort Massachusetts with patriotic associations, such as attach to few of the points made interesting by having been the scene of border struggles, and is regarded and spoken of with affectionate pride by those living in its vicinity. That Serg. Hawks would never have surrendered if his ammunition had not failed him, is very certain, and, as it was, the victory won by Vaudreuil was no subject of boasting.

About fifty of Vaudreuil's Indians separated from the main body, after the surrender of Fort Massachusetts, for another visit to the old scene of their depredations, at Deerfield. They arrived in the vicinity of the town on Sunday, the 24th of August, and reconnoitered the meadows to find a feasible point for securing captives, as the people should go to work on Monday. A quantity of hay in the South Meadow led them to suppose that men would be there to gather it. This was at a point known as "The Bars," and concealing themselves in the brush and underwood that covered the bordering hills, they awaited their prey. Near the ground were two houses, occupied respectively by families of the name of Amsden and Allen. The laborers of these families, accompanied by several children, and numbering some ten or twelve in all, went out in the morning to labor in the meadow, the men, according to their custom, taking their arms. They commenced their labor in the immediate vicinity of the Indians. At this moment, Eleazer Hawks of Deerfield, who was hunting partridges in the woods very near the Indians, caught sight of a bird, and discharged his piece. The Indians supposing themselves to be discovered, turned upon him, killed and scalped him, and then sprang forward to attack the workmen. At the discharge of musketry, the workmen, with the children, fled towards a mill, not far distant, under fierce pursuit. Simeon Amsden, a lad, was killed and scalped, and then Samuel Allen, John Sadler and Adonijah Gillet made a brave stand against their savage pursuers. Allen fought desperately for his own life and the lives of his three children. At the last, he was obliged to fight with the breech of his musket, and thus as well as the individual in command of the convoy of the baggage-wagons. In the following July, Eliakim Sheldon of Bernardston, and John Mills of Colerain, were killed by Indians. On the 26th of August, Elijah Clark was killed at Southampton, while at work in his barn. On the first of October, Peter Burvee was taken near Fort Massachusetts, and went into his second captivity from the same spot, having been one of the number under Hawks, at the surrender to Vaudreuil. About this time John Smead was killed and scalped while on his way from Northfield to Sunderland, near the mouth of Miller's River, and a party of colonial troops from the Northfield garrison, while on a scouting expedition, wounded Pierre Rambout, a French officer, who surrendered himself, and having been cured, was sent to Boston, from whence he was taken to Canada the next year, in charge of Col. Hawks, the hero of Fort Massachusetts, who exchanged him for young Allen of Deerfield, the particulars of whose deliverance have already been stated.

The policy of Connecticut, in protecting itself by assisting the settlers upon the river above them, was imitated by Massachusetts, in the assistance afforded to the settlers upon the Connecticut, within the province of New Hampshire. In 1748, Massachusetts took measures to man the fort at Charlestown, with an efficient force under the gallant Captain Stevens. The principal movements of the enemy this year had connection with this point, and but little of interest occurred upon the Connecticut. In May, Southampton was visited again by Indians, and Noah Pixley murdered. At this time Col. Stoddard of Northampton was at Boston, in attendance at the General Court, where he died. Hampshire County lost in him an efficient officer, and a most reliable and useful man. He had fulfilled many offices of public trust, and his loss was deeply felt. Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield was appointed to succeed him in the command of the Western forces of the colony. About this time a skirmish took place in Marlborough, Vt., which has so many associations with persons and localities coming within the range of this history, as to claim a notice. A detachment of 42 soldiers, under Captain Humphrey Hobbs of Springfield and Lieut. Alexander of Northfield, left the fort at Charlestown for Fort

Shirley in Heath. Hobbs had halted in a low piece of ground, to allow his men opportunity to eat, leaving in the rear a small guard. Previously, one Sackett, a half-blooded Indian chief, supposed to be the descendant of a captive taken at Westfield, had discovered the passage of the party, and, with about 300 Indians, followed the trail, and coming upon the guard, drove them in. Hobbs did not know the strength of the enemy, but instantly commanded every man to take his tree, and fight. Confident in the power of his numbers, Sackett rushed in, and his men received a murderous fire, which killed a number, and immediately put the remainder upon their caution and their best behavior; and there the two parties fought for four hours. Hobbs and Sackett were old acquaintances, and the latter frequently called upon the former to surrender, and threatened, in case of a refusal, to close in and finish the work with the tomahawk. Hobbs always returned a defiant answer, and bade him put his threats into execution. The determination of Hobbs was too much, and Sackett retreated, taking with him his dead and wounded—a large number. His force was at least six times that of Hobbs, while the latter lost but three men, and only three more were wounded.

On the 23d of July, Aaron Belding was killed in Northfield Street, and on the 2d of August a body of two hundred Indians made a demonstration of their presence at Fort Massachusetts, at that time garrisoned by 100 men under Capt., afterwards Col., Ephraim Williams. A scout of four men, at some distance from the fort, were fired upon, when Captain Williams sallied with thirty men, and driving the enemy a little distance, fell into an ambuscade of fifty Indians, who attempted to intercept his retreat to the fort, but his movements were too rapid for the enemy, and he regained the fort with the loss of one man, named Abbot. The enemy, to the number of 300, then appeared, and opened a spirited fire upon the fort, which was returned with such success that at the end of two hours they despaired of effecting anything, and withdrew, taking with them their dead and wounded. The treaty of peace between England and France, signed at Aix la Chapelle on the 7th of October, though it did not produce an immediate effect upon the movements of the Indians, dated the cessation of hostilities in Western Massachusetts for the time and occasion, and again settlements were established on every side, and a few years of peace gave old Hampshire another step in her slowly graduated progress.

CHAPTER XII.

REVOLT OF THE CONNECTICUT TOWNS—THE CROWN PINES—THE HAMPSHIRE BAR.

INCIDENTAL and very brief mention has been made of the result of the line established in 1713, between Connecticut and Massachusetts, throwing, as it did, several towns previously supposed to be within the Massachusetts patent, and actually under the Massachusetts jurisdiction, into the territory of its Southern neighbor. When this line was established, it was agreed between the two colonies that, although the towns of Woodstock, Somers, Suffield and Enfield came within Connecticut, those towns should remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; and, as an equivalent for this, the latter colony granted to Connecticut certain lands. These lands were contained mostly in the present towns of Belchertown, Ware and Pelham, and they were sold by Connecticut, and the proceeds appropriated by that colony for the benefit of Yale College. From the date of this arrangement until 1750, the people in these Massachusetts towns in Connecticut had remained contentedly under the Massachusetts Government, but the series of wars which have been narrated had borne so unequally upon the respective colonies that the peace of Aix la Chapelle found Massachusetts burdened with taxes, and a large debt, while Connecticut stood comparatively easy in these respects. The towns alluded to, being embraced in lines of colonial boundary where the taxes were comparatively light, and seeing themselves liable to bear an increase in consequence of the debt remaining upon their parent State, conceived the project of revolting from their Government, and attaching themselves to Connecticut. They refused to pay the taxes assessed upon them, and the Massachusetts Government acting with but little spirit in the matter, the Connecticut Legislature resolved to receive the towns into that jurisdiction. The Massachusetts Government did not acknowledge this transfer, and made unsuccessful attempts to compel the inhabitants to submission. For twenty years following the revolt, the towns were regularly assessed in Massachusetts, though the taxes were not levied. There was something extremely trickish about this operation of Connecticut, and something having very much the look of imbecility and cowardice in the manner in which it was treated by Massachusetts. Connecticut had received from Massachusetts an equivalent in land for these towns. She had sold this land, every acre of it, and appropriated the money to her own uses. Yet, in less than forty years, she encouraged the towns in question to revolt, received them under her wing, and justified herself in the theft, without offering any equivalent. Many a Government has made war on a slighter pretext than this matter furnished to Massachusetts, but, judging from the action of Massachusetts in the premises, she either did not consider the towns worth fighting for, or was willing to sacrifice them in order to escape an unpleasant controversy.

To make operative a provision of the colonial charter of 1691, the Massachusetts General Court passed a law in 1743, forbidding the cutting of all pine trees on ungranted land, of the diameter of 24 inches at the distance of 12 feet above the ground. These were reserved by the British Government, as masts for the Navy. A Surveyor General of the woods of America was appointed by the British Government, at a high salary, to look after these trees, who operated through his deputies at various points. The law was a very unpopular one, and very generally disregarded. Massachusetts was not, to any large extent, a pine-growing region, but the Surveyor General had his local officers to look after the pine trees upon the Connecticut. Many logs were seized at Springfield, and points above, that had been floated down from New Hampshire, and though the transgressors of the law implicated in these seizures were taken to Boston, and tried by a kind of naval court, nothing effectual or material seems to have been accomplished. The contempt in which the law was held, in the Connecticut River towns, is made abundantly evident by a piteously complaining letter, written from Northampton by Eleazer Burt and Elijah Lyman, as late as the Spring of 1764, to Governor Bernard. They allude to their appointment by Benning Wentworth, the Surveyor appointed by the crown, to seize and mark such trees as should come within the specified provisions, with the figure of the broad arrow, and secure them in some safe place; and then they state that, though they began their work they found it very hard to hire hands, "almost every one being against it." They proceed: "Yet we marked for his majesty's use 363 trees and logs in Northampton, but they were all taken away from us but thirty-seven, some in the night, and some in the day-time, in open defiance of law, and no officer appeared in our behalf. We are threatened, if we pursue our orders, of being beat, knocked down and killed. We applied to Samuel Mather Esq., a justice of the peace, for his assistance, but he utterly refused to aid us. He utterly refused to read your proclamation of July 9th, 1763, though he said he had not seen it. He said the Governor did not understand the affair; if he had, he would not have put out such a proclamation. We then applied to Israel Williams Esq., [appointed commander of the Hampshire regiment of militia in 1748,] for assistance. He read the proclamation, and said he did not see as he was obliged to give us a warrant to press men for our assistance." This letter shows how entirely offensive the law was to the people upon the Connecticut, and with how little efficiency it was enforced.

For many years after the establishment of Courts in Hampshire County, the bar was not distinguished by high intelligence, or exact and extensive legal knowledge. It was not until twenty-five or thirty years after the commencement of the 18th century that an improvement began to be witnessed, which advanced until the Hampshire bar was one of the most respectable, not to say brilliant, in the colony. According to the admirable address delivered before the Hampshire bar in 1826, by Hon. George Bliss, this improvement was attributable mainly to three men, viz: Phinehas Lyman of Suffield, John Worthington of Springfield, and Joseph Hawley of Northampton. Mr. Lyman commenced practice in Suffield in 1743, became a distinguished advocate, and acquired an extensive practice. Worthington and Hawley were both his pupils, and, on the admission of the former to the bar, he immediately took a high stand, and Lyman, doubtless, saw in the promise of the young man, something that might rival and overshadow himself. Whether this fact had any effect upon Mr. Lyman's mind, it is, of course, impossible to say, but he became the prime mover of the revolt of the town of his residence and its affiliated neighbors to Connecticut. No apparent motive existed for this action, and it has been attributed, whether justly or otherwise, to jealousies which cautioned him to forsake a field that was soon to be disputed with him, and seek a new one. It would seem not altogether improbable that a man who could engage in the work of cheating a colony out of its fairly purchased territory, might have an unmanly motive at the basis of his action. At the time Worthington and Hawley came to the bar, the practice was characterized with that illiberality, and that arbitrary folly which, based on nice technicalities, crushes right beneath the heel of a word, and strangles equity in the embrace of form. But this state of things broke gradually down under the influence of these larger and more liberal minds. While these men were in active life, a number of rules of practice were established, one of which produced a much needed uniformity, in requiring all students to read law three years before they could receive a recommendation for admission to the bar. Worthington and Hawley became so eminent, that they were employed in all the important trials. Worthington occupied an important military position as well as legal. After the military division of the county, into two regiments, he was chosen the commander of the Southern regiment, and was ever afterwards known as Colonel Worthington. He was a man of liberal attainments, and, as an advocate, nervous, brilliant and effective, possessing withal a good degree of that "popular talent" which gave him influence and fame. Hawley was a grave, solemn, conscientious and noble man, —a man whose opinions always carried great weight, for his integrity and soundness were proverbial. So profound was his conscientiousness, that it is said that he would not engage in a case in which he believed his client's cause was not on the side of justice. After he had engaged, he sometimes would drop his case, if it became apparent to him that he was on the wrong side. This was carrying things to extremes, and becoming judge and jury as well as attorney, but it illustrates the character of the man—his strength as well as his weakness. He was deeply versed in the old legal authors, and attached to the ancient forms of English practice, while Worthington, less profound and more facile and liberal, was better versed in more modern authors, and those intermediate modifications of commercial and mercantile law which had given to the latter their freer spirit and more extended survey. Worthington was a scholar and a gentleman, accustomed to the usages of polite society; Hawley was a Puritan in the staid style of his deportment, as well as in the religious complexion of his mind and life. Both were honorable, both upright, both powerful, and both industrious. Hawley died at the age of 64, and Worthington lived to be upwards of 80. During the early part of their professional lives, their cotemporaries in legal practice were Oliver Partridge of Hatfield, Charles Phelps of Hadley, Josiah Dwight of Westfield, John Ashley of Lower Housatonic, and Cornelius Jones of Springfield, the latter a brilliant pettifogger, who commenced his career in Springfield as a tailor, and doubtless slid naturally from suits in linsey, to suits at law.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONCLUDING FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

THE peace procured by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle was but temporary, and appears to have been intended as an opportunity for maturing further plans for prosecuting the war. The French were striving to repair the disadvantages they labored under in being excluded from the Atlantic coast, by extending their possessions from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, on the North, to the mouth of the Mississippi on the South, through the intermediate lakes and rivers. The first collisions occurred on the Ohio, where the Ohio Company, under an English charter, were making their surveys, and the French erecting their forts. Actual hostilities being thus precipitated, orders came from England to dislodge the French from their posts on the Ohio, with a recommendation for the several English colonies in America to form some plan of union for defense. In accordance with this recommendation, a convention was held at Albany, on the 14th of June, 1754, consisting of delegates from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland, with the Governor and Council of New York; and a plan of union was proposed and adopted, Connecticut only dissenting. But the plan was rejected by the several Colonial Assemblies, as well as by the King's Council, and thus the colonies entered into the chances of the war, divided as before, in fact and force.

Previous to the commencement of these difficulties, settlements had been somewhat extended in the Western part of old Hampshire. In 1752, Solomon Deming removed to Pontoosuc,—the present town of Pittsfield,—from Wethersfield, Ct., and built his house in the Eastern part of the town. In the following year, a company of men, of whom Mr. Deming was one, were incorporated as the proprietors of the new township, and a small settlement was made. The townships of East and West Hoosac, containing the present towns of Adams and Williamstown, were surveyed by a committee appointed by the General Court. West Hoosac received a small settlement in 1751. Lenox received its first settler, Mr. Jonathan Hinsdale, in 1750. Lanesborough, called at first Richfield, and afterwards New Framingham, was granted to inhabitants of Framingham in 1741, and settled in 1754. The settlement of these towns increased the facilities for mischief, which the Indians in the interest of the French had always availed themselves of so largely, in time of war. The first demonstration that apprised the people of Western Massachusetts that the Indians were again upon them was made at Dutch Hoosac, about ten miles West of Fort Massachusetts, and now embraced within New York. Here they killed Samuel Bowen, and burnt seven dwelling houses, fourteen barns and a large quantity of wheat. This and a similarly destructive descent upon St. Coick, on the following day, were effected by the descendants of the Indians who left the Connecticut River some seventy-five years previously, at the close of Philip's War, known as the Schaghticokes. A small party of these Indians, soon after these occurrences, went down to Stockbridge, where two of them attacked the family of Joshua Chamberlain, on Sunday, while the people of the place were mostly in the church. The hired man of Mr. Chamberlain—one Owen—defended the house with much bravery, and while Mr. Chamberlain and his wife escaped, paid the forfeit of his life for his efforts in their behalf. He was scalped, and the Indians then killed and scalped a child, and captured another which they killed on discovering that they were pursued. At the time of this occurrence, the people of Pittsfield and Lenox were flying to Stockbridge for safety, having been either violently driven from their plantations, or become aware of the approach of a large force. During this flight, a man named Stephens, of Lenox, was shot from his horse, while a young woman of the name of Piercey, riding behind him, escaped. The affair at Stockbridge brought the resident Indians somewhat into suspicion, but, doubtless, with entire injustice. Many of the new settlers in the Western towns were emigrants from Connecticut, and, by settling where they did, established out-posts for Connecticut, breaking the path of the Indians from the North, as the Massachusetts settlements on the

Connecticut had done in former years. Immediately after the events just recorded had transpired, that province sent troops to the more exposed towns in the region, a company of them being posted at Pontoosuc.

These hostilities, which began with so serious a promise of evil in the Western part of the colony, received the immediate attention of the Government. Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield, then commanding the Northern regiment of Hampshire County, communicated to the Governor a plan for defense, based on his intimate knowledge of the territory, and on his own sound military ideas, which, on being presented to the General Court, was adopted with hardly the exception of a particular. He proposed the abandonment of Forts Shirley and Pelham, and the erection of a line of small fortifications, extending through the valley of the Deerfield River. Besides these new works, he proposed the strengthening of Forts Massachusetts and Dummer, and the old works at Northfield, Bernardston, Colerain, Greenfield and Deerfield. Small works he also recommended to be erected in Stockbridge, Pontoosuc and Blandford, and at other minor points. Col. Williams recommended that the fort at Charlestown should be abandoned, but the General Court did not approve of this. Upon the adoption of this plan, a force was raised, to be placed at different points upon the Western frontier, at the discretion of the commander. Forts Dummer and Massachusetts were furnished with artillery. Capt. Ephraim Williams, who had, in the preceding war, so ably managed the cordon of forts then established, was appointed to the same duty in connection with the new establishment, with the rank of Major. In the following year, however, he was relieved of this command, and appointed by Governor Shirley to the command of a regiment raised in Hampshire County for the purpose of carrying into effect the renewed project of wresting from the French their colonial possessions in America. Capt. Isaac Wyman was appointed to his place, with his head quarters at Fort Massachusetts. This Hampshire regiment composed a portion of the army of nearly five thousand New England and New York troops raised to go against Crown Point.

The Expedition against Crown Point, as well as those devised at the same time against Niagara and Fort Du

Quesne, were very popular with the colony, and the frontier towns, especially, took courage and hope. But the formidable preparations in progress against the French did not lead them to relax their hostilities, and from the frequent and almost uniform failures of similar operations in former times, it was not strange that they had begun to look upon such affairs as being not particularly formidable. In June of this year (1755) a party of Indians attacked a number of men at work in the fields near Rice's fort, in Charlemont, (one of the new works,) and killed Capt. Rice and Phineas Arms, and captured and conveyed to Canada Asa Rice and Titus King, the latter a native of Northampton, who, after being sent to France, returned home by the way of England. Determined to give greater strength and efficiency to the forces in the frontier towns, the Government increased the force in the garrisons, required the inhabitants to go armed, even to their houses of public worship, and established the policy, followed in the previous war, of traversing the path along the entire cordon of fortifications, by scouts who were incited to the utmost vigilance by the offer of bounties for Indian scalps, which were to be equally divided among the soldiers, without regard to rank. A hardier body of men than composed these scouting parties probably never existed in New England. Lodging in the open air, exposed to every inclement breeze and storm, they were obliged to carry, besides their arms, a thirty days store of provisions, and to keep every sense on the alert for the detection of danger, and the opportunity to gather from the Indian head the valuable prize which grew there. The history of the watchful nights, the daring feats, the tedious marches and the almost unexampled toils of these men, may not be written, but the imagination may conceive something of the almost ferocious hardihood which characterized and sustained them. The Indians, with their accustomed sagacity, took pains to shun the ground thus made so dangerous to them, and committed their depredations above this formidable line of operations. The frontier towns of New Hampshire suffered extremely. At New Hopkinton, Keene, Walpole, Hinsdale and Charlestown, in that province, the enemy appeared, and did various damage. One of their more serious demonstrations occurred just North of the Massachusetts line, at Bridgman's fort, in Vernon, a short distance below Fort Dummer. A number of Indians, having previously cut off a party at work in the meadow, killing Caleb Howe and taking his two sons prisoners, proceeded to the fort at night, knocked at the door, in a manner that they had learned to imitate from the residents, by watching them, and were unsuspectingly admitted by the women who had heard the firing, and were impatiently awaiting the return of their protectors. The Indians thus admitted made Mrs. Jemima Howe, Mrs. Submit Grout and Mrs. Eunice Garfield, with their eleven children, their prisoners. They were all taken to Canada, and their subsequent vicissitudes were not among the least interesting and romantic of which the early border wars were so prolific. The people of New Hampshire were obliged to call upon Massachusetts for more assistance, their own province granting none, and they received it.

The expedition to Crown Point was under the command of Col. Johnson, and it is proper to follow the Hampshire regiment in its connection with this enterprise. The army having advanced as far as the Southern extremity of Lake George, in the latter part of August, awaited the arrival, or construction, of batteaux, to give them a passage to Crown Point. In the meantime, Baron Dieskau, with a large force of French regulars, Canadians and Indians, becoming aware of Johnson's movements, advanced with the intention of attacking Fort Edward, a work erected by the English, and garrisoned by Col. Blanchard's regiment of New Hampshire troops. Arriving in the vicinity of the fort, his Canadian and Indian force was found to be afraid of Blanchard's artillery, and to be in favor of proceeding to Lake George, and attacking the main army. The arrival of the French force near Fort Edward was ascertained by Johnson, and, without any idea that they had changed their purpose in order to march against himself, he dispatched one thousand men, with 200 Mohawks, under Col. Ephraim Williams, to intercept the path of the force, as it should retire from Fort Edward, without regard to what might have been their success there. This was on the 8th of September, and, at this moment, Dieskau was within a few miles of Johnson's camp, and had discovered the advance of the body under Col. Williams. The path of the latter lay through a ravine peculiarly favorable to an ambuscade, and the French commander seized the opportunity, and laid his plans and made his arrangements admirably. Into this ambuscade, at the distance of only three and a half miles from Johnson's camp, the force under Williams, led by the Mohawks, marched, and although by the imprudence of some of Dieskau's Indians the attack was precipitated, the English and Mohawks received a terrific fire, and under the worst possible disadvantages for defense. In the endeavor to reach a more elevated position for his troops, Col. Williams was killed by a shot through the head. His fall produced alarm and confusion, and the whole body broke into a disorderly retreat, pursued and cut down by the closely following foe. The latter part of the retreat was covered by a small force sent out from Johnson's camp. Dieskau was now determined to follow up the impression thus made, by an attack on Johnson's camp, which had been rudely fortified by a breastwork of logs. Johnson's force was the heaviest, but Dieskau's confidence in his regular troops overcame his caution, and he pressed on, and commenced the attack. The exaggerated accounts brought to the camp, of the power and ferocity of the French force, intimidated the colonial troops, but they soon entered into the fight with the most gallant and determined spirit, remaining firmly at their posts, and inflicting terrible carnage upon the enemy at every point of attack, until the latter turned in retreat, when Johnson's troops leaped over their breastworks, and pursued them. The fight lasted four hours, and in the pursuit, Baron Dieskau was wounded, and taken prisoner. The loss in both engagements, on the English side, was 216 killed and 96 wounded. The Hampshire regiment suffered the most severely of all. Forty-six of the regiment were killed, and twenty-four wounded. The officers killed besides Col. Williams, were Major Noah Ashley, Captains Moses Porter, Jonathan Ingersol and Elisha Hawley, Lieutenants Daniel Pomeroy, Simon Cobb and Nathaniel Burt, and Ensigns John Stratton and Reuben Wait. Lieut. Burt was an inhabitant of Longmeadow, and a deacon of the church there. The news of this victory, while it spread a general joy throughout New England, was accompanied with deep personal sorrow and mourning, to the hearts of the dwellers upon the Connecticut, for it had been more costly to them in blood than to any other section. Nearly one-fourth of all the killed and wounded belonged to the Hampshire regiment. The standing of Col. Williams in the army is indicated by the important command intrusted to him at the time he fell. He stood high, in his character for bravery, humanity and intelligence, and was but forty-two years old when he died. His name would have been safe in the hands of his country, but he has associated it with a higher cause than war —the crowning glory of peace. Before he left Albany, in the campaign that proved fatal to him, he made his will, in which, after assigning to several of his relatives and friends appropriate bequests, he directed "that the remainder of his land should be sold, at the discretion of his executors, within five years after an established peace; and that the interest of moneys arising from the sale, and also the interest of his notes and bonds, should be applied to the support of a free school in a township West of Fort Massachusetts, [the locality of his old command,] forever; provided said township fall within Massachusetts, upon running the line between Massachusetts and New York, and provided the said township, when incorporated, shall be called Williamstown." On this basis arose Williams College, one of the noblest and most useful literary institutions of New England. Thus giving his life for his country's defense, and thus leaving his treasure for her good and glory, the laurels won by Col. Williams in war grow brighter in the recollection of his beneficence, while his beneficence appears with unwonted beauty beneath the hero's crown. In 1790, the fund meantime having been augmented by State aid, and a donation of the people of Williamstown, a brick building was put up, the free School was opened in 1791, and two years afterwards, the institution was erected into a College. But the spot where the hero and the benefactor fell has remained unhonored by a monumental designation until the present year. In the Autumn of 1853, however, a movement was made by the Alumni of the institution to purchase the rock which is believed to mark the place of his death, and an acre of ground around it, on which to erect a monument. A debt so justly owed, and so long unpaid, has thus been nobly acknowledged. Within a year or two, Dr. Stephen W. Williams of Deerfield has presented to the College the watch worn by Col. Williams at the date of his fall, with the dress sword that belonged to him at the time.

The expedition to Fort Du Quesne, under Gen. Braddock, fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, and was totally defeated, while that under Shirley, against the French post at Niagara, though unaccompanied by disaster, was equally unproductive. This closed the operations of 1755, and the next year opened in May by a formal declaration of war on the part of England; and France followed in June with the same declaration. Great Britain made extraordinary preparations for prosecuting her purpose of conquering the French colonies, and, in the meantime, the Indians returned to carry on their depredations upon the New England frontiers, commencing as usual in New Hampshire. In June, 1756, five men were attacked in the Northerly part of Greenfield, while at their labor in the fields. These men had deposited their arms, from which the enemy cut them off, and all endeavored to escape, but only two—Benjamin Graves and John Hastings—succeeded. Shubael Atherton was shot and scalped, and Daniel Graves and Nathaniel Brooks were captured. Graves, being old and unable to travel, was killed before proceeding far, and Brooks never returned, his fate remaining in uncertainty. Zebediah Stebbins and Reuben Wright of Northfield were attacked on the 20th of June. The latter was wounded, but both being on horseback, effected their escape. Three days previously, Benjamin King and William Meach were ambuscaded and killed near Fort Massachusetts. On the 26th, thirteen men, on their way from the Western army under Winslow, were surprised by a large body of Indians, eight killed, and the remainder captured. This occurred about thirteen miles from Fort Massachusetts. Capt. Elisha Chapin, the commander at Fort Massachusetts in 1754, Sergeant Chidestre and his son James were killed at West Hoosac, (Williamstown,) on the 11th of July.

The general operations of 1757 were disastrous, and filled the colonies with despondency and alarm, and the energetic Montcalm, who had been successful in capturing the English posts at Lake George, was expected to continue his operations by extending his efforts Eastward. Pownal, then Governor of Massachusetts, ordered all the cavalry of the province, with a large body of militia, to Springfield, under the Lieut. General of the province, Sir William Pepperell. This latter was a new officer, created for the occasion. Orders had previously been given for the establishment of a magazine of provisions and military stores at the same point. A train of artillery was also ordered to be provided, and a regiment of artillery raised. Sir William Pepperell was ordered, in case of the advance of the enemy, to have the wheels struck off all the wagons West of the Connecticut, to drive in the cattle and horses, and make a stand upon the East side. The similar order given eighty years before, for the inhabitants of the West side to repair to the East, will show how comparatively slow and painful had been the progress of settlement during this long and disturbed period. The garrisons at Fort Massachusetts and West Hoosac were strengthened, and preparations made in every quarter for defense, against a foe which never came. When it was found that Montcalm was content with the advantages he had gained, and had retired to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the troops were recalled, and the usual garrisons reduced to their ordinary force. From this time, until the surrender of the Canadian province to Great Britain in 1760, no events of special interest occurred in the Western part of the Massachusetts colony, except the closing acts of Indian hostility, that took place on the 20th and 21st of March, 1758. The first day, John Morrison and John Henry of Colerain were fired upon and wounded, and Morrison's barn was burnt and his cattle killed. The next, Joseph McCown and his wife were captured, and the latter being unable to travel, was killed.

This closed the long and terrible tragedy of the Indian, and French and Indian, wars. From the first settlement at Springfield, until the conquest of Canada in 1760, a series of one hundred and twenty-four years had passed away, and by far the larger part of this time the inhabitants of the territory embraced in old Hampshire had been exposed to the dangers, the fears, the toils and trials of Indian wars, or border depredations. Children had been born, had grown up to manhood, and descended to old age, knowing little or nothing of peace and tranquillity. Hundreds had been killed, and large numbers carried into captivity. Men, women and children had been butchered by scores. There is hardly a square acre, certainly not a square mile, in the Connecticut Valley, that has not been tracked by the flying feet of fear, resounded with the groan of the dying, drunk the blood of the dead, or served as the scene of toils made doubly toilsome by an apprehension of danger that never slept. It was among such scenes and such trials as these that the settlements of Western Massachusetts were planted. It was by these scenes and trials that their sinews were knit to that degree of strength that, when the incubus of war and fear was lifted, they sprang to those enterprises of peace, which in less than one century, have transformed the Valley and the Berkshire hills into a garden of beauty, a home of luxury and refinement, an abode of plenty, and a seat of free education and free religion. The joy of victory that spread everywhere over the colonies was great, but the joy of peace was greater. The relief felt on every hand can hardly be imagined now. The long clogged wheels of enterprise moved again, and settlements that had been forsaken were reclaimed, while new ones were commenced. The ax resounded in the forests, and smiling harvests returned once more to be gathered rejoicingly beneath the reign of peace.

CHAPTER XIV.

DIVISION OF HAMPSHIRE COUNTY — LAND SALES — NEGRO SLAVERY — ECCLESIASTICAL EXCITEMENT — DISTRICTS.

AT the session of the General Court in May, 1761, the Western part of the old County of Hampshire was set off, and incorporated as a distinct County, with the name of Berkshire. At this time, it contained only the incorporated towns of Sheffield, Stockbridge, New Marlboro' and Egremont, and plantations in the present towns of Pittsfield, Lanesborough, Williamstown, Tyringham, Sandisfield and Becket. On three sides, the County was bounded by the adjoining provinces of New Hampshire on the North, (now Vermont,) Connecticut on the South, and New York on the West, at that time an uncertain limit. The line separating it from its parent County was run as follows:— "Beginning at the Western line of Granville, where it touches the Connecticut line, to run Northerly as far as said West line of Granville runs, then Easterly to the Southwest corner of Blandford, and to run by the West line of the same town to the Northwestern corner thereof: from thence Northerly, in a direct line to the Southeast corner of No. 4, (Becket,) and so running by the Easterly line of No. 4 to the Northeast corner thereof; and thence in a direct course to the Southwest corner of Charlemont, and so Northerly in the West line of the same town till it comes to the North bound of the province." After a long dispute, the line between Massachusetts and New York was settled in 1787. The Eastern line of Berkshire County has been subjected to several modifications. Nearly all of Middlefield, in the present County of Hampshire, was taken from Berkshire. Windsor, in Berkshire, has received an addition from Hampshire; and Hawley, in Franklin County, has been enlarged from Berkshire. Monroe, in Franklin County, was entirely embraced within the original boundary of Berkshire. The present area of the County is about 950 square miles.

At the time of the formation of the County, it was enacted that an Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, should be held at the North parish in Sheffield, which, on the 30th of June following, (1761,) was incorporated as a town with the name of Great Barrington, and at Pontoosuc, now Pittsfield. The Supreme Courts for the new County were held in Hampshire until 1783, when, by order of the General Court, the Supreme Judicial Court was established in Berkshire. The County buildings were erected in Great Barrington, but the settlement of the Northern part of the County soon destroyed its centrality, and the Courts were ordered, in 1784, to be holden in Lenox; but measures taken in opposition to the removal delayed the event until 1786. Strong efforts were made in 1784 to have the Courts held alternately in Great Barrington and Lanesborough, and, in 1785, still more powerful efforts were made to have them held alternately at Stockbridge and Pittsfield, which would be nearly equivalent to keeping them where they were first established. But both efforts miscarried, and the Jail and Court House were erected at Lenox, between the years 1790 and 1792. And there, notwithstanding numerous efforts to change the County seat, since made, from time to time, they still remain.

As the finances of the colony were embarrassed, and money became accumulated in individual hands, private enterprise found more extended fields of operation, and land speculations came to mingle in the schemes of those who had the means to engage in them. The peace which followed the events of 1760 gave opportunity for these operations, and the General Court ordered ten townships in the Western part of the colony, on the 2d of June, 1762, to be sold at Boston, by auction, to the highest bidder. They were sold by their numbers, in order, as follows:

No. 1. East Hoosac, now Adams, to Nathan Jones, for £3,200.

No. 2. A tract embracing the present towns of Peru and Hinsdale, to Elisha Jones, for £1,460.

No. 3. The present town of Worthington, to Aaron Willard, for £1,860.

No. 4. The present town of Windsor, called Gageboro', at first, to Noah Nash, for £1,430.

No. 5. The present town of Cummington, to John Cummings, for £1,800.

No. 6. The present town of Savoy, to Abel Lawrence, for £1,350.

No. 7. The present town of Hawley, to Moses Parsons, for £875.

No. 8. The present towns of Lenox and Richmond, to Josiah Dean, for £2,550.

No. 9. The present town of Chester, at first called Murrayfield, to William Williams, for £1,500.

No. 10. The present town of Rowe, to Cornelius Jones, for £380.

These sales amounted to the grand total of £16,405. Although this sum appears very insignificant, as an equivalent for such immense tracts of land, it was more than they were worth at the time, for such was the loose manner practiced by the General Court, in making grants, that the best lands, in nearly all these townships, were pre-occupied by private claimants. In consequence of this, and, in some cases owing to other causes, several of the purchasers petitioned the General Court for a remission of a part of the purchase money.

It has incidentally appeared that at an early date in the history of the Western portion of the colony, negroes were numbered among the inhabitants. These were all Slaves, and were held as such by the first and best men in the settlements—by the ancestors of those, too, who now deem slave-holding entirely inconsistent with the Christian character. The earliest record of the presence of negroes, in the Connecticut River settlements, is found in the register of marriages, solemnized by Maj. John Pynchon, in these words: "Dec. 1st, 1687, Roco and Sue, my negroes, joined in marriage." "My negroes" were slaves, but their slavery was mild in form and fact, and the institution did not thrive as in later times, in more Southern localities. They were probably owned by those only who were able to keep servants, and had use for menials. The majority of the population were working men and women, who did their own service. Rev. John Williams of Deerfield had two negroes, at least, as appears in the work in which he relates the story of his captivity. His negro woman was killed at the time the Indians attacked his house in 1704, and the night after this event, as he says, "some of the enemy who brought drink with them from the town, fell to drinking, and, in their drunken fit, they killed my negro man." Rev. Roger Newton, D. D., who became the second minister of Greenfield in 1761, was the owner of slaves, one of whom was called "Old Tenor." She was a very good old woman, and on the occasion of her death, Dr. Newton preached a funeral sermon, in which he bestowed upon her the negative praise of being "no pilferer." Col. Moore of the same town had a negro named Jack who became violently enamoured with the charms of Old Tenor's daughter Phillis, but whose course of love found but a rough and tortuous channel. "Phillis afterwards married Cæsar Finnemur, the son of Romus and Rose, and had thirteen children." The mention of these names will show that slaves were by no means an unusual form of property, in former times. There were probably a few slaves on every plantation, where the wealth of individual settlers would permit, and negroes were held in bondage in the Connecticut Valley during nearly or quite an entire century of its history.

Notwithstanding the pressure of war from without, during the first half of the 18th century, and the large drafts made on physical force to overcome it, the spiritual leaders of the flocks scattered along the Valley found abundant time for high ecclesiastical feuds. The most remarkable instance of this kind occurred in Springfield in 1736. Rev. Robert Breck was invited to take the place made vacant in 1734, by the death of Rev. Mr. Brewer. A council of neighboring ministers, according to the custom of that day and this, was called together, to examine the candidate, and decide upon his eligibility to the pastoral office, with special reference to his settlement in Springfield. Mr. Breck's reputation had preceded him, and under the impression that he was not soundly orthodox, a portion of the people themselves had already taken side against him. The majority admired and loved him. It appears that the council came together prejudiced against him, and their examination confirmed them in their opinion of his heretical notions. They refused to ordain him, and the people were denied the ministrations of the man of their choice. The excitement caused by this action was intense, both in the town and the county. Mr. Breck, meanwhile, conducted himself with the utmost moderation and prudence, and was the least excited of all concerned. The people felt that he and they had been wronged, and sent to the Eastern part of the colony for another council, though only four of the seven who actually appear to have come together, came from that quarter. The remaining three were clergymen of the county.

The calling of the second council created the greatest excitement. It was, in fact, an ecclesiastical convulsion. Mr. Breck was a young man only twenty-two years old, his sentiments had been denounced by many of the ministers of the county as heretical, and the danger of having their decision over-ruled, and of having him forced upon their society, wrought upon them a very high degree of exasperation. Co-operating with Mr. Breck's enemies among the people of the town, they determined that he should not be ordained, if a forcible interference could prevent. They accordingly applied to a magistrate for a warrant for his arrest, and the warrant was placed in the hands of the sheriff. The charge on which the warrant was issued was that of heresy, contained in words uttered by Mr. Breck in a sermon preached at New London, Ct., and those words were the following: "What will become of the heathen who never heard of the Gospel, I do not pretend to say, but I cannot but indulge a hope that God in his boundless benevolence will find out a way whereby those heathen who act up to the light they have, may be saved." The heresy of this charitable wish was doubtless found in Mr. Breck's admission of the possibility of salvation to any man without a knowledge of Christ. The ordaining council consisted of the following gentlemen: Rev. Messrs. William Cooper, William Welsteed and Samuel Mather of Boston, William Cook of Sudbury, Isaac Chauncey of Hadley, Ebenezer Devotion of Suffield, and William Rand of Sunderland. After they had assembled, the sheriff, with his posse, marched to the house where they were in session, surrounded it with his force, and then, with a drawn sword in his hand, entered the room where the Council were examining the candidate. There, in his majesty's name, he arrested Mr. Breck, and ordered him to prepare himself immediately for a journey to New London.

Mr. Breck was young, perplexed and distressed, and not being acquainted with the law, sent for legal counsel, and was advised to offer bail. This he did, but the sheriff refused to allow it, on the ground that the offense charged against him was high treason, not only against the King of England, but against the King of Heaven. Mr. Breck's counsel told the sheriff that the King of Heaven would unquestionably take care of his own traitors, and, as he had nothing to do but to execute the laws of the land, if he persisted in refusing bail, he would do it at his peril. Thus menaced, the sheriff receded, and Mr. Breck was admitted to bail, and subsequently appeared at New London, and had his trial. His examination, at Springfield, by the council, was satisfactory, but in consequence of the extreme excitement that prevailed, his ordination was deferred. Mr. Breck was ordained on the 26th of January, 1736. His trial amounted to nothing, save his acquittal of the charges brought against him. A great war of words grew out of the affair. Two pamphlets were issued by the association which rejected him, and one was written and issued by the ordaining council. Both bodies wrote in justification of the course they had respectively pursued.

The ordination sermon was preached by Rev. William Cooper of Boston. In this sermon, the preacher directly addressed Mr. Breck in the following words: "If you should meet with injuries and hard dealing, (real or apprehended,) have a strict guard upon your own temper and conduct. If deeper thrusts should be still given to your reputation, and any methods taken to have those things which the charity that the Gospel teaches would have covered and buried, exposed to thousands that would not else have heard of them, and transmitted to those that shall come after us; if, I say, such methods should be taken against you, labor for a forgiving spirit; and don't go about to wound the reputation of others, farther than self defense may make it necessary. We bless God for that prudence, patience and meekness, which he has enabled you to exercise under your uncommon trials. I think myself particularly bound to testify on this occasion that, in all this time, I never heard one hard word drop from you, respecting any person, of any order. I have seen your tears, admired your silence, and hope God has heard your prayers. May the fruit of all be to humble you, to prove you, and to do you good in your latter end; to purify and refine you, to be a vessel unto honor, more meet for the Master's service, and a greater blessing to this church and people!" Never was advice more conscientiously followed, or prayer more fully answered. Under Mr. Breck's beautiful life and noble spirit, opposition against him began to give way, and by degrees, his people all became his warm friends, as well as his fellow pastors in the neighborhood, who, in a few years, received him into their fellowship. Mr. Cooper's sermon on the occasion of the ordination was printed and is still extant. It was accompanied in its issue by Mr. Breck's confession of faith, which was publicly delivered by him at his ordination. This document, though much too nice in its details for a general creed, is a model of fine English, and one of the most clear and intelligent statements of Christian doctrine, as held by Orthodoxy, ever written. Mr. Breck died in the 49th year of his ministry, April 23d, 1784, at the age of 70.

At a date prior to 1753, the Governor of Massachusetts received instructions from the home Government which, in a strong light, exhibited the growing jealousy of the Crown of the popular element in the Government of the colony. The increase of the number of towns in the colony, by increasing in the same ratio the representation in the Legislature, was seen to present formidable encroachments upon the authority of the parent power. To put a stop to this, the Governor was instructed to consent to no act for establishing a new town in the province, unless, by a special clause, it should place a restraint upon the power of sending representatives. After this, for many years, new towns were, consequently, incorporated as districts, possessing all the powers of towns, except the power of sending representatives to the General Court. They had the privilege of joining with other towns in this function. Wilbraham is recorded to have been incorporated as a district in 1763, and Granville, in 1754. Monson was incorporated as a district in 1760, Southwick in 1770, Egremont in 1760, Lenox in 1767, New Ashford in 1781, Greenfield, Montague and New Salem in 1753, Shelburne in 1768, Orange in 1783, and Leyden in 1784. On the 23d of March, 1786, it was enacted that all districts incorporated before

January 1st, 1777, should be towns, or, in other words, those towns which, by being incorporated as districts, had not possessed the privilege of individual representation, should have that privilege thereafter. Many individuals have looked in vain for the special act incorporating several towns. If those towns were districts before 1777, this act is the only one which affected their incorporation, and it applied to a large number.

CHAPTER XV.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

THE attempt described in the preceding chapter, to limit the popular voice in the government of the province, was among the first of a series of acts which produced those subsequent convulsions that became necessary to confirm the possession of the good which had been so nobly won during the period of colonial adolescence, and which resulted in independence to the State and a federal Republic to the country. From 1764 to 1775, the efforts of the British Parliament were directed, in a multitude of offensive and arbitrary ways, to the end of depriving the province of its liberties and privileges, and of making it contribute to the revenues of the British Crown. The stamp act was passed in 1765, and though, owing to the opposition it met with in Massachusetts, principally, it was repealed on the following year, Parliament took the occasion to declare "that they had a right to tax the colonies, and to legislate for them in all cases whatever." This declaration, carrying with it a most daring and arbitrary assumption of power, increased the discontent which the repeal of the offensive and unproductive act was intended to allay. It was a direct overthrow of the powers granted by the provincial charter, and always exercised without serious question. Thus alarmed, the people of the province were on the alert, and, while professing loyalty to the crown, determined to question, step by step, every encroachment upon their liberties, and pleaded for their justification that fundamental principle in the British Constitution, "that the subject could not be taxed without the consent of his representative." Among the early active participants in the controversy that commenced and progressed between the representatives of the Crown and the champions of colonial right, was Joseph Hawley of Northampton, whose name will descend to posterity in most honorable companionship with those of James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Josiah Quincy and Samuel Dexter. Col. John

Worthington of Springfield, who divided with Hawley the higher legal honors of old Hampshire County, was a member of the first Committee appointed by the House of Representatives to consider what should be done with reference to the oppressive acts of Parliament. This Committee reported the project of a Congress made up of committees from the popular branch of each of the colonial legislatures, to be held at New York, in October, 1765. The report was adopted, and a committee of three appointed, two of whom—Col. Worthington and Oliver Partridge—(the latter of Hatfield) were from Hampshire County. Col. Worthington declined the appointment, and T. Ruggles, (unfortunately for the province, for he behaved dishonorably in the matter,) was appointed in his stead. The determination on the part of the new British Cabinet, organized in July, 1767, to carry out to the extent the outrageous doctrine propounded on the repeal of the stamp act, that Parliament had a right to bind the colonies, in all cases whatever, induced a spirit of deep anxiety and concern throughout the colony. Following the recommendations of a most respectable popular meeting in Boston, many families throughout the province, by an example of noble self denial, abandoned the use of foreign luxuries, and supplied their necessities with articles of home growth and manufacture. The events which followed—the arbitrary measures of Governor Bernard, the arrival of military force, the misrepresentation of the colonists abroad, the refusal to hear their petitions, the popular combinations against importing British goods, the struggle between patriotism and Governmental policy in the British Parliament, the ever memorable and ever glorious protests against oppression by the General Assembly of the colony, the collisions of the soldiery with the people of Boston, the firm and persistent opposition to the usurpations of chartered rights, the traitorous conduct of Gov. Hutchinson in his capacity as the tool of the British ministry, the destruction of tea in Boston Harbor, the holding of County meetings and conventions, the institution of Committees of safety and correspondence—all these events, in which civil liberty and National glory were taking root, prepared the way for that first demonstration which sealed in blood, on the soil of Massachusetts, the doom of British rule in the American Colonies.

The people of the Western counties of the colony were no whit behind their Eastern brothers in patriotic impulses, or in their attachment to liberty, and the determination to defend their rights. Committees of safety and correspondence were established in nearly every town. The records of nearly every town then in existence in Western Massachusetts, tell of the public meetings there held to consult upon the public safety, and to devise measures of co-operation with their brethren in the East, and in the other colonies. From the close of the concluding French War until the revolution, the subjects connected with the encroachments of arbitrary power led the public mind—not, however, to the neglect of business and the reparation of the injuries that had been experienced through so long a period of disturbance, for settlements progressed in every direction.

On the 6th of July, 1774, a Congress, as it was then called, of deputies from all the towns in Berkshire County, was held at Stockbridge, and took a noble and decisive stand, with respect to the evils that threatened the province. The towns represented were, Sheffield, Great Barrington, Egremont, Stockbridge, Lenox, West Stockbridge, Alford, Richmond, Pittsfield, Lanesborough, Hancock, (then Jericho) Williamstown, Adams, (then East Hoosac) Sandisfield, Peru, (then Partridgefield) Washington, (then Hartwood) Becket, New Marlborough and Tyringham. The proceedings of this convention were dignified and firm, and were participated in by the first and best men of the county. Among the first votes of the Congress was one recommending to the several towns of the county that the 14th of July should be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, "to implore the Divine assistance that he would interpose, and in mercy avert those evils with which we are threatened." Among other important votes was one that the several members of a Committee "be desired to recommend to the charity of the inhabitants of the several towns in the County, the distressed circumstances of the poor of the towns of Charlestown and Boston, and that the same be remitted to them in fat cattle in the fall." A committee, consisting of Timothy Edwards, Dr. William

Whiting, Dr. Lemuel Barnard, Dr. Erastus Sergeant, and Dea. James Eason, was appointed to take into consideration, and report the draught of an agreement, to be recommended to the towns in the county, for the non-consumption of British manufactures. This committee reported a series of resolves which were ordered to be transmitted to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston. They follow:

"Whereas, the Parliament of Great Britain have, of late, undertaken to give and grant away our money without our knowledge or consent; and in order to compel us to a servile submission to the above measures have proceeded to block up the harbor of Boston; also, have, or are about to vacate the charter, and repeal certain laws of this province, heretofore enacted by the General Court, and confirmed to us by the King and his predecessors—therefore, as a means to obtain a speedy redress of the above grievances, we do solemnly, and in good faith, covenant and engage with each other:

"1st. That we will not import, purchase, or consume, or suffer any person for, by, or under us, to import, purchase, or consume, in any manner whatever, any goods, wares or manufactures which shall arrive in America from Great Britain, from and after the first day of October next, or such other time as shall be agreed upon by the American Congress; nor any goods which shall be ordered from thence from and after this day, until our charter and Constitutional rights shall be restored; or until it shall be determined by the major part of our brethren, in this and the neighboring colonies, that a non-importation or non-consumption agreement will not have a tendency to effect the desired end, and until it shall be apparent that a non-importation or non-consumption agreement will not be entered into by the majority of this and the neighboring colonies, except such articles as the said General Congress of North America shall advise to import and consume.

"2dly. We do further covenant and agree that we will observe the most strict obedience to all constitutional laws and authority; and will, at all times, exert ourselves to the utmost for the discouragement of all licentiousness, and suppressing all disorderly mobs and riots.

"3dly. We will exert ourselves, as far as in us lies, in promoting peace, love and unanimity among each other; and for that end, we engage to avoid all unnecessary lawsuits whatever.

"4thly. As a strict and proper adherence to the non-importation and non-consumption agreement will, if not seasonably provided against, involve us in many difficulties and inconveniences, we do promise and agree that we will take the most prudent care for the raising of sheep, and for the manufacturing of all such clothes as shall be most useful and necessary; and, also, for the raising of flax and the manufacturing of linen; further, that we will, by every prudent method, endeavor to guard against all those inconveniences which might otherwise arise from the foregoing agreement.

"5thly. That if any person shall refuse to sign this, or a similar covenant, or after having signed it, shall not adhere to the real intent and meaning thereof, he or they shall be treated by us with all the neglect they shall justly deserve—particularly by omitting all commercial dealings with them.

"6thly. That if this, or a similar covenant, shall after the first day of August next, be offered to any trader or shopkeeper of this county, and he or they shall refuse to sign the same, for the space of 48 hours, we will from thenceforth purchase no article of British manufacture, or East India goods from him or them until such time as he or they shall sign this or a similar covenant."

The delegates to this convention were chosen, pursuant to advice in circular letters from Boston, the head quarters of the popular movement, and it was in accordance with these letters that committees of safety and correspondence were chosen in every town. Pittsfield was one of the first towns, if not the first town in the colony, that offered opposition to the King's courts. At its meeting held on the 15th of August, 1774, Timothy Childs and Capt. John Strong were chosen a Committee to petition the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County of Berkshire, "not to transact any business that term," and they did it in a very peremptory manner. Their petition was nothing less than an open declaration of resistance. They alluded to two particular acts of Parliament superseding the Charter of the Province, and then declared that they viewed it of the greatest importance to the well being of the Province that the people of it *utterly refuse the least submission to the said acts, and on no consideration to yield obedience to them, or directly or indirectly to countenance their taking place of those acts among us, but resist them to the last extremity.*" After stating the case somewhat more at length, they gave their reasons in detail for opposing the holding of Courts until the unconstitutional acts alluded to, should be repealed. They were as follow:

"1. If they (the courts) are now held in the ancient form, this will be in direct violation of those laws (the new ones) and in defiance of them.

"2. Whatever business shall be transacted in the ancient form, now those laws are in force, will be illegal, and liable afterwards to be wholly set aside.

"3. The Honorable Judges will expose themselves by not submitting to the new acts by transacting business in the old form, or agreeable to our charter, to an immediate loss of their Commissions.

"4. It will be much greater contempt of those laws, to transact business in the ancient form, or agreeable to our charter, than to do none at all.

"5. This course of procedure will tend to bring matters to a more unhappy crisis, which we would choose by all means to avoid, than to neglect to do any business."

These reasons, it will be seen, are given principally to show why the Courts could not be held in their ancient form. A list of reasons why no Court should be held were subjoined. They were, in effect, that there was no doubt that the offensive acts had passed the Royal assent, that they had arrived in Boston, that they probably were then published by the Governor, and that the town "ought to bear the most early testimony against those acts, and set a good example for the rest of the Province to copy after." The acts to which the town alluded, it may be stated, conferred upon the Royal Governor the power of appointing and removing all judges of the Inferior Courts of the Common Pleas, as well as other important legal officers, and expressly forbade the holding of town meetings without leave obtained of the Governor, and the transaction of any business in those meetings except such as the Governor should mention in his written permission. It will therefore appear that the Pittsfield town meeting, according to the declaration of its voice, was held in direct opposition to the laws which it took such particular pains to inform the Court had arrived in Boston. They persisted in transacting business after the "ancient forms," and closed their bold demonstration in these words: "The honorable Court has good grounds to neglect to do business in the law, and the people just occasion to petition for it, *and insist upon it, without admitting a refusal.*"

The County Congress held in Stockbridge in July was preceded or followed by similar conventions, promulgating similar declarations, in all the counties of the State. A Congress of Committees from every town and district in Hampshire County, except Charlemont and Southwick, was held at Northampton on the 22d and 23d of September, "to consult upon measures to be taken in this time of general distress in the province, occasioned by the late attacks of the British Parliament upon the constitution of said province," &c. Timothy Danielson of Brimfield was Chairman of the Convention, and Ebenezer Hunt, Jr., of Northampton, Clerk. After a long and animated debate, a Committee of nine reported a series of resolutions similar to those adopted by other County Congresses, and they were passed with great unanimity. In substance, the resolutions were, that the County did not intend to withdraw from allegiance to the King; that the charter of the province ought to be kept inviolate, and that the inhabitants had not violated it; that the subversive acts of the British Parliament, being before the Continental Congress, (it had assembled at Philadelphia during the first part of the month,) they would not act with regard to them; that the acts of Gov. Gage were destructive of their rights, and that it was doubtful whether he was the constitutional Governor, and whether his acts ought to be of any validity, especially his writs for convening the General Court at Salem; and that a provincial Congress was necessary to be holden at Concord on the 2d of October following, to which the different towns of the County were recommended to send delegates. The resolutions further recommended to constables, collectors, &c., "to pay no money to H. Gray, treasurer, but to deposit the same in town treasuries;" urged all to refrain from engaging in riots and spoliations of personal property; declared that town meetings ought to be called in accordance with ancient usage, and exhorted all the inhabitants of the County to be diligent to acquaint themselves with the military art, under the direction of such persons as they might choose, and to furnish themselves with arms and ammunition.

Thus, while the people adhered to the rights conveyed in their charter, and professed loyalty to their sovereign, they foresaw that the effect of their action would be to bring them into direct collision with the power whose acts they condemned; and they unhesitatingly prepared themselves for the worst that could happen. To the man whose kindly faith permits him to trace by the side of the footprints of History, the parallel path of the angel of God's providence, the events of this period will explain and justify that mysterious series of afflictions, which formed so large a part of the marked events in the early life of the colony. He will see a young people struggling through a long series of wars with savage tribes, and hardly more civilized Canadian colonists, until the thoughts of danger and death are as familiar as the thoughts of God; until every man knows the use of his gun as well as he does the most common implement of husbandry, and until peace, without those rights which can only make it truly valuable, shall be regarded as worthless. He will see that this long tutelage was necessary as a preparation for those high duties which were destined to cut the colony loose from foreign dependency, and to erect a free State in which the great problems of free religion, free education, and self government, were to be wrought out for the benefit of mankind. He will see that the people were armed by the Indian wars, taught the use of arms by them, inured to hardship by them, made prudent and resolute by them, and taught to estimate properly the value of their rights and soil by them; and he will also see, in the few years that followed the close of the French wars, and preceded the Revolution, a period of rest for the gathering of resources, for calm discussion of great questions, and the perfection of that association of purpose and power that was necessary in carrying to a successful issue the noblest and most momentous struggle that the history of the world affords. He will see that not only the soil upon which we live, but the liberty which we enjoy, is the purchase of those early conflicts, and that the "war of the revolution" commenced long before the soil of Lexington drank revolutionary blood. He will find, too, that the immense influence which the clergy had exerted, from the first planting of the colony, in all civil affairs, found its use in effecting the grand result, for they were, as a body, the earliest and best defenders of the principles for which their people fought, and accomplished more than their part in the resulting achievement of independence.

It is not within the scope of this work to notice even the leading events of the revolutionary struggle. None of them occurred in this locality, and it only remains to recount something of those trials which the people experienced in common with all others. Regiments of minute men were formed and trained in the art of war, and when they caught the echo of the guns of Lexington, marched immediately to Boston, and formed a portion of that large body of troops which blocked up the British forces in the peninsula of the town, after they had made their way back from Concord and Lexington. Side by side with the votes which are abundant on the town records of this period, appropriating money for the payment of soldiers, are votes for the establishment of committees to procure sustenance for the "industrious poor" of Boston, whose labors were suspended by the military occupation of the town. As an instance of the liberality with which the towns appropriated money for the support of soldiers and minute men, it may be stated that Springfield, in town meeting Nov. 14th, 1775, granted for the payment of the minute men, for exercising expenses, &c., with another account connected therewith, the sum of £52, 14s. 6d. At a town meeting in the following year, grants were made which will illustrate the course pursued in the procurement of arms for the soldiers sent out: "To Ariel Collins, for 43 cartouch-boxes, £1. 1s. 6d.; to Thomas Bates, for a gun and bayonet, £2. 10s.; to Luke Bliss, for a gun and bayonet, £2. 8s.; to Capt. Thomas Stebbins, for the use of a gun, 6s.; to Timothy Bliss, for a large homespun blanket, 15s.; to John Burt, for a blanket, 9s.; to Oliver Burt, for a gun delivered Sylvanus Hale, £2; to John Warner, for exercising as a minute man, 9s.; to Seth Storer Cobourn, for a horse to assist the minute men when they marched from this town to Head Quarters near Boston, in April, 1775, 13s.; to George Cotton, Jr., for a blanket and knapsack delivered Benoni Barrister, 13s. 6d." Eight pounds were also granted to procure drums for the several companies raised in the town, and the selectmen were instructed to procure, in addition to the stock already possessed by the town, 150 pounds of gunpowder, 2,000 flints, and 400 pounds of lead.

The appropriation above mentioned, for the owner of the horse that was used in getting the minute men on their way to Boston in April, gives an intimation of the movement which followed the announcement that blood had been shed at Lexington, and no better illustration of the spirit which animated this region of country at the time, can be given, than the spirited account of the effect of the event in Greenfield, as related by Mr. Willard, in his history of that town:

"Immediately after the battle of Lexington, the towns received circulars by express, or otherwise, and the people of this town assembled *instanter*, on the afternoon of the day on which the intelligence was received. It is related of one individual, Mr. Elijah Mitchell, that being in the village at the time, he went home on foot, a mile or more West, and returned with his equipments, ready to march, in fifteen minutes from the time he started. The suddenness of the gathering reminds us of Scott's beautiful description of the gathering of a Scottish clan, summoned in the hour of danger, by the rapid passage over hill and dale of the cross of fire, sending far around its beacon light. There were two military companies, one of which, under Capt. Agrippa Wells, met in the village, and the other at the North meeting house, under Capt. Ebenezer Wells. A great number assembled at the meeting house. With few exceptions, this assembled throng, the bowed with age, and the stripling with scarce the down upon his cheek, were ardent in the patriot cause; the ardor spread from heart to heart, as the story was told that American blood had been shed by the British soldiery.

"It was immediately proposed that Thomas Loveland, the drummer, should take a station on the horse-block, under an elm at the South side of the common, and beat the long roll for volunteers. It was accordingly done, and sounded far and wide among the woods and fields. The officers of the company—Capt. E. Wells, Lt. Allen, and Ensign J. Severance—were there, but stood aloof, dissuading from the adventure, as savoring of treason and rebellion against the Government. They had not made up their minds to join the patriot cause. But the long roll of Thomas Loveland had done its work. There was an overwhelming majority for the contest. The cautious advice of their respected and beloved officers, hitherto listened to with respect, and obediently followed, was now no more regarded than the passing breeze. Upon the first beating of the long roll, first and foremost stood out that hardy, industrious and bold yeoman, Benjamin Hastings, a William Wallace in intrepidity and determined bravery. Who so daring as to come next and risk the halter? It were difficult to say; the whole mass was in motion on that bleak and barren old common, Trap Plain. The assembled townsmen volunteered almost to a man. The long roll of Tom Loveland was electric and contagious."

The company thus formed was on the march the next morning for the East under Capt. Timothy Childs. This is one of those stirring and interesting scenes of which the revolutionary war was so prolific, and the following is another, the description being taken from the Barre Gazette:

"When the intelligence reached New Salem, the people were hastily assembled on the village green by the notes of alarm. Every man came with his gun, and other hasty preparations for a short march. The militia of the town were then divided into two companies, one of which was commanded by Capt. G. This company was paraded, before much consultation had been had upon the proper steps to be taken in the emergency, and while determination was expressed on almost every countenance, the men stood silently leaning on their muskets, awaiting the movement of the spirit in the officers. The Captain was supposed to be tinctured with toryism, and his present indecision and backwardness were ample proof, if not of his attachment to royalty, at least of his unfitness to lead a patriot band. Some murmurs began to be heard, when the first Lieutenant, William Stacy, took off his hat, and addressed them. He was a man of stout heart, but of few words. Pulling his commission from his pocket, he said: 'Fellow soldiers, I don't know exactly how it is with the rest of you, but for one, I will no longer serve a King that murders my own countrymen'; and tearing the paper in a hundred pieces, he trod it under his foot. Sober as were the people by nature, they could not restrain a loud, wild hurra, as he stepped forward, and took his place in the ranks. G. still faltered, and made a feeble endeavor to restore order; but they heeded it as little as the wind. The company was summarily disbanded, and a re-organization begun on the spot. The gallant Stacy was unanimously chosen Captain, and with a prouder commission than was ever borne on parchment, he led a small but efficient band to Cambridge. He continued in service during the war, reaching before its close, the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, under the command of Putnam."

William Leavitt, one of the earliest emigrants from this region to the Western Reserve, Ohio, was at the time of the Lexington alarm, a boy of sixteen, residing in Suffield, Ct. A meeting of the militia was held in that town, and volunteers called for. He with others took his knapsack upon his back, and his gun in his hand, and ran every step of the way to Springfield on foot, to join the patriot forces.

But this early tax, voluntarily rendered, upon the forces of the region, was far from being the last or most serious. Requisition followed requisition in the troublous years that succeeded, drawing as well upon industrial resources as industrious men. On the 25th of June, 1776, the General Court ordered 5,000 men to be raised. Those going from six counties were destined for Canada; from four counties, for New York, where Gen. Washington had established his head quarters. The troops ordered to be raised in Hampshire County were to march to Canada, and were offered each £7 bounty. The proportion to be raised in the County was 754. Of these, 44 were assigned to Springfield, 17 to Brimfield, 24 to Wilbraham, to Northampton 47, Southampton 17, Hadley 13, South Hadley 12, Amherst 27, Granby 9, Hatfield 16, Conway 13, Sunderland 9, Chesterfield 10, West Springfield 48, Whately 9, Williamsburg 9, Westfield 31, Deerfield 18, and the other towns in proportion to their population, though the estimate was a rough one, as the above assignments will show. The Hampshire troops furnished exactly a battalion. This order was followed on the 10th of July, just after the declaration of independence, by an order for the enlistment of every 25th man in the State, to re-inforce the Northern army.

Shut out from the advantages of commerce by the war, and exceedingly limited in manufactures, the means resorted to for obtaining supplies for the army—clothes, blankets and food—were characteristic of the times. Orders were passed for the raising within the State of a specified number of blankets, shoes and stockings, &c. These were not obtainable in any one place, as they would be now. They were only to be produced and found in families. When an order to raise these articles was issued, each town had its share in the work assigned to it, and receivers, or committees, were appointed to look up and account for the goods. These articles were paid for, in the paper money of the day. The mode was, for the committee to go to a house, make up their minds upon the question whether the house was good for one, two, or three blankets, and then inform the householder that he must produce the articles, and take his pay for them. In many instances, blankets were taken directly from beds in use, and were often given up with a cheerfulness that showed how hearty was the sympathy felt in the cause which called for the sacrifice. On the 4th of January, 1776, an order was passed for the raising of 4,000 blankets, the proportion of Hampshire County being 300, divided as follows: Springfield 12, Wilbraham 6, Northampton 7, Hadley 10, Southampton 6, Amherst 8, Granby 7, Hatfield 11, Whately 7, Westfield 32, Deerfield 10, Greenfield 10, Sunderland 10, Belchertown 7, &c. On the 11th of December, an order was passed "that one-fourth of the Berkshire militia, and one-eighth of the Hampshire militia, ordered by a late act to enforce the army near New York, be forthwith marched to Albany, to be under Gen. Schuyler's order." On the 23d of April, 1777, two battalions, of 750 men each, were ordered from Hampshire County to Ticonderoga, to be there two months.

On the 5th of February, of that year, a Convention of the Committees of Safety, in the several towns of Hampshire County was held at Northampton. Robert Breck, a Northampton trader, (son of the Springfield minister of the same name,) was chosen Clerk, and Nathaniel Dwight, President. Delegates were present from Monson, Brimfield, Ludlow, South Hadley, Granby, Hadley, Amherst, Belchertown, Pelham, Greenwich, Ware, Shutesbury, Sunderland, Warwick, Bernardston, Colerain, Shelburne, Springfield, Hatfield, Whately, Williamsburg, Chesterfield, Southwick, Charlemont, Deerfield, South Brimfield, (now Wales,) Conway, Ashfield, Murrayfield, (now Chester,) Norwich, Southampton, Westfield, Northampton, Blandford, Leverett, West Springfield, Granville and Palmer. The Convention was called for the purpose of taking into consideration the suffering condition of the Northern Army, and it proceeded at once to advise the Committee of Supplies to forward such supplies as were necessary for the comfort of the army, "not doubting that the General Court will approve thereof." A petition then came before the Convention from Jonathan Mosely, who prayed that his son, then confined in jail for refusing to go into the army, might be liberated. The spirit and the necessities of the times are indicated in the fact that the petition was dismissed. The next action was the approval of the order of the General Court for setting up Courts of the General Sessions of the Peace for the County, and this was followed by an incongruous, but characteristic vote, recommending to all innholders the importance of refusing to entertain persons traveling unnecessarily on the Sabbath. Then followed the recommendation of a plan for securing uniformity of prices throughout the County. A Committee, appointed for the purpose, reported the following petition to the General Court, and it was adopted:

"*The petition of the Convention of the Committees of Safety*. Humbly sheweth that it is the humble opinion of this Convention that it is highly necessary for the public safety of the United States in general, and this State in particular, that your honors take under consideration the conduct of inimical persons, inhabitants of the County of Hampshire, which are daily increasing, and has been proved to the satisfaction of the Convention. A few particulars we humbly beg leave to lay before your honors:

"1st. Ever since our army retreated from New York, and the inhumane ravage of the British troops in the Jersies, our inimical brethren have appeared with an insulting air, and have exerted themselves to intimidate weak minds by threatening speeches, saying that the day was over with us.

"2d. Their reflections on the General Court, openly declaring that our Honorable Court of this State had made acts that were unjust, respecting the last raised recruits, declaring that the Committees or Selectmen dare as well be damned as to draught them for the army, and that, if they *were* draughted, they would rather fight against our own men than against our enemies.

"3d. Their using their utmost endeavors to destroy the currency of our paper money, counterfeiting the same, strengthening the hands of our enemies, discouraging our friends, paying no regard to the Committees of Safety, frequently meeting, and holding a correspondence from town to town, endeavoring to prevent the raising a new levy of men, which is of the utmost consequence to our safety in this critical day; and we cannot put any other construction upon the conduct of those that appear inimical to us, but that they are plotting our ruin."

The petition closes with a request that these matters be taken into consideration, and such remedies devised as may seem proper. On the 20th of April, 1778, 2,000 men were ordered to be raised to fill up the fifteen continental battalions, which the State had been required to furnish, of which Hampshire was ordered to furnish 242. Springfield and Northampton furnished 13 each. The fine for refusing to go was £20. The term of service was nine months, and each man was to have 6d. a mile for travel, and six dollars for blanket, &c. On the same day, an order was passed for raising 1,300 men for North River, and 200 for Rhode Island, of which Hampshire County was required to furnish 182. During the same year, by another order, 1800 men were to be raised for Rhode Island, of which 199 were to come from Hampshire, and 102 from Berkshire. This last order was subsequently so altered that 100 men were to go to Rhode Island from the South part of Hampshire, while the remainder of the troops, with those from Berkshire, should proceed to Albany to join Gen. Stark. June 23d, of the same year, 1,000 men were ordered to guard the prisoners of the convention entered into by Gates and Burgoyne. During the same year, too, an order was passed for collecting shirts, shoes and stockings, equal in number each, to one-seventh of the males. Wm. Scott of Palmer was the collecting agent for Hampshire County. June 1st, 1779, an order was passed for raising a large number of shirts, shoes and stockings for the army, the proportion of Springfield being 66, and Northampton 64. On the 8th of the same month, 800 men were ordered to be raised, to serve in Rhode Island, the term of service to extend to Jan. 1st, 1780. Of these, 102 were to come from Hampshire. They were to have £16 per month, in addition to the continental pay. On the same day, 2,000 men were ordered to be raised, to fill up the 15 continental battalions of the State. They were ordered to meet at Springfield, and Justin Ely of that town was appointed to receive them, and deliver them over to the continental officers. The term of service was nine months, and the fine for refusing to go, when draughted, was £45. Of these troops, Hampshire was ordered to raise 228. On the 9th of October following, 2,000 men were ordered to be raised, to co-operate with the French allies, of which 450 were to be from Hampshire, and 200 from Berkshire. The fine for refusing to serve was fixed at £50. The troops from these two counties were to form one regiment, each soldier receiving £16 per month, in addition to his regular continental pay, to receive a bonus of £30 from the towns they should go from, and to draw two shillings mileage. On the 4th of May, another order for the collection of shirts, shoes, stockings and blankets was passed. The number of blankets to be collected was just half that of the other articles. The proportion of Springfield was forty-two shirts, shoes and stockings, and twenty-one blankets, while the number required from the other towns was approximately in the ratio of their population.

These statistics show what immense draughts were made upon the physical resources of Western Massachusetts, in common with other sections of the state and country, in order to effect that revolution whose fruits are now so abundant and so widely enjoyed. So weak became the towns, after two or three years had passed away, so necessary was it to remain at home for the maintenance of wives and children, that many of these requisitions were not complied with, the draughted men paying their fines, and refusing to leave their homes. It is recorded in a journal kept by the minister in Westfield, at that time, that when, on the 13th of May, 1778, a requisition was made for men from that town, " Noah Cobley and Paul Noble went, and David Fowler, Roger Bagg, Enoch Holcomb, Joseph Dewey, Simeon Stiles, Jacob Noble, Benjamin Sexton, John Moxley, Martin Root, Stephen Fowler, Eli Granger, Roger Noble and Daniel Fowler paid their fines."

The administration of civil affairs in the Western counties, during the early period of the Revolutionary struggle, presented some eccentricities which are worthy of notice. It will have been observed that the Convention of the Committees of Safety at Northampton received a petition that one Mosely be released from jail. This petition, of itself, indicates the power which the Safety Committees of the time possessed. They differed from the " Vigilance Committees" that were established during the municipal infancy of the new settlements on the Pacific coast, in their existence by the consent or connivance of the State and continental authorities. They formed, in fact, one of the most powerful auxiliaries of both. The recognition of these committees was practiced by the Courts themselves, a fact well illustrated by an occurrence that took place in

Greenfield. People in the vicinity of a thick forest on the East side of Fall river, in that town, had noticed a smoke rising above the trees. The Safety Committee of the town were notified of the fact, and, repairing to the spot, found a man named Harrington, who inhabited a kind of cave, in which he had gathered all the tools necessary for counterfeiting. They took him and conveyed him to Northampton, where they brought him before Judge Joseph Hawley. The judge told the Committee that the jail was so full of tories that it would hold no more, and advised them to take him into the pine woods, North of the town, and give him as many lashes *as they thought best*, and let him go. The sentence was executed, three of the Committee giving him light blows, but the fourth believed that, in whipping, the lashes should be "well laid on," and brought blood at every stroke. They then bathed his wounds with spirits, gave him to drink of the same, and, after exacting of him a promise not to be seen in those parts again, let him go. He thanked them for their lenity, and kept his pledge.

At this day, it is impossible to find such an abundance of incidents connected with the Revolution in this region, as will serve to impregnate with life and interest the dry statistics to which the narrator is confined. The tongues that could have related them are now silent, or falter with the weakness or the indistinct memories of age. Such letters as might aid the historian are buried in the unexplored lumber of private garrets and public halls. It is difficult to follow the men of Hampshire and Berkshire who enlisted in the war, and participated in its reverses and victories. In many cases it is impossible. The companies of minute men which went promptly from both counties to Boston were there mostly re-organized, having enlisted for eight months, and served in different regiments. Besides the company from Greenfield, under Capt. Childs, many other companies from Hampshire County marched, upon the Lexington alarm, and all, or nearly all, did eight months' service. Col. Timothy Danielson of Brimfield, the President of the County Congress at Northampton in 1775, had the command of a regiment. To this regiment belonged a company of 61 men from Springfield, of which Gideon Burt was Captain, Walter Pynchon 1st Lieutenant, and Aaron Steel 2d do. A company from the towns of Belchertown, Ware, Greenwich and Hardwick went, under the command of Capt. Jonathan Bardwell, whose Lieutenants were William Gilmore of Ware, and Moses Howe of Belchertown. The Northampton company of minute men numbered 69, and were commanded by Capt. Jonathan Allen, whose Lieutenants were Oliver Lyman and James Shepherd. West Springfield sent 53 men, under Capt. Enoch Chapin, whose Lieutenants were Samuel Flowers and Luke Day, the latter of whom must be subjected to less honorable mention in connection with the notorious rebellion of 1786–87. Capt. Reuben Dickinson of Amherst commanded a company of 61 men from Amherst, Shutesbury and Leverett, and had for his Lieutenants Zaccheus Crocker of Shutesbury, and Joseph Dickinson of Amherst. Blandford and Murrayfield, (now Chester,) sent a company of 36 men, under Capt. John Ferguson.

On the Lexington alarm, ten men left Williamsburg, under Capt. Abel Thayer, who seems to have been too impatient to wait for 21 others who followed him, and attached themselves to his prompt little corps. Westfield turned out a noble company of 70 men, under Capt. Warham Parks, whose Lieutenants were John Shepard and Richard Falley. Every man in this company was from Westfield. Forty-six men went from Southampton, under the command of Capt. Lemuel Pomeroy. A few of these seem to have belonged in Northampton and Norwich, and Jonathan Wales of the former town was 1st Lieutenant. Pelham and Greenwich sent 58 men, under Capt. Isaac Gray. His 1st Lieutenant was Thomas Willington, and he appears to have belonged in Watertown. His 2d Lieutenant was Josiah Wilcox of Greenwich. Capt. Seth Murray of Hatfield, commanded a company of 49 men from that town, while his first Lieutenant was Samuel Cook of Hadley. Worthington and Ashfield formed a noble company of 71 men, under Capt. Ebenezer Webber of the former town, whose Lieutenants were Samuel Bartlett and Samuel Allen, both of Ashfield. The company from Granville numbered 60 men, under Capt. Lebbeus Ball, whose 1st Lieutenant was Lemuel Bancroft of Southwick. A second company was formed in Greenfield, consisting of 64 men, under Capt. Agrippa Wells, or "Capt. Grip," as he was termed in the familiar style of his associates.

Col. Danielson of Brimfield has already been mentioned as the commander of a regiment. His Lieutenant Col. was William Shepherd of Westfield, and the Major of the regiment was David Leonard. Col. Woodbridge of South Hadley had also the command of a regiment. Two regiments of minute men were formed in Berkshire County, one made up from the middle and Northern parts of the county under Colonel (afterwards General,) Patterson of Lenox, and the other formed in the Southern part of the County, under Colonel (afterwards General) Fellows of Sheffield. The privates in these regiments became mostly "eight months men," while some of them enlisted for the war. The news of the battle of Lexington arrived in the county two days after its occurrence, at about mid-day, and the next morning Col. Patterson's regiment were on their way to Boston, completely armed and equipped, and mostly in uniform. After the re-organization of Col. Patterson's Regiment, Jeremiah Cady of Dalton (then Ashuelot Equivalent,) was constituted Major, and among the Captains were Charles Dibble of Lenox, Nathan Watkins of Peru, (then Partridgefield) Thomas Williams of Stockbridge, David Noble of Pittsfield, and Samuel Sloane of Williamstown. General Fellows' regiment numbered among its Captains, William King and Peter Ingersoll of Great Barrington, William Bacon of Sheffield, Ebenezer Smith of New Marlborough, ——— Soule of Sandisfield, William Goodrich of Stockbridge, and Noah Allen of Tyringham. A company of Indians from Stockbridge, under Capt. Abraham Nimham, one of the tribe, was among those that enlisted in Berkshire, and at the battle of White Plains, four of them were killed in the service of the country. Others served honorably elsewhere, and in so high esteem were they held by General Washington, that at the close of the war, a feast was given them by his command, in Stockbridge, of which the whole tribe partook.

On the day of the ever memorable battle of Bunker Hill, Col. Patterson's regiment defended Fort No. 3, in Charlestown, a work of their own construction. Both of the Berkshire regiments remained in the vicinity of Boston, until the place was evacuated, in March, 1776, some of them, however, being connected with the terrible expedition of Gen. Arnold to Quebec, and sharing in all its hardships. After the evacuation, Col. Patterson's regiment proceeded to New York, and thence to Canada, for the purpose of joining Arnold. Owing to the news of his failure at Quebec, they did not proceed to that city, but some of them engaged in the disastrous battle at The Cedars. Retreating from Canada, their route led them to Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Crossing the bay, they fortified Mount Independence, from which point, in November, they marched to Albany. Proceeding thence to Esopus, they passed through the Minisink country, and joined Gen. Washington's forces at Newtown, Pa., in time to cross the Delaware with him, and participate in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. This regiment was also active in the capture of Burgoyne. The extent of the sufferings of the regiment between the dates of its departure from New York, and its arrival at Newtown, may be gathered from the fact that when they left New York they numbered over 600, and when they joined Gen. Washington, there were only 220 of them. Death in battle, disease and capture had nearly destroyed them. The battle of Bennington was fought on the 16th of August, and on the 13th of September following, Gen. Lincoln detached Col. Brown of Pittsfield, with a body of 500 men, many of whom belonged in Berkshire, for the purpose of recovering Ticonderoga and other posts that had fallen into the possession of the royal army, in its passage from the North. Though it was found impracticable to reduce either Ticonderoga or Mount Independence, the gallant body took Mount Defiance and Mount Hope, 200 batteaux, several gun-boats, an armed sloop and 290 prisoners. They also released 100 Americans. Col. Brown was a man of great shrewdness and prudence, and was among the first, if not the first, to read the real character of the traitor Arnold. Two years before Arnold's treason, Brown declared that such was his "baseness of heart—his love of gold—that if the British should find out the man, he would prove a traitor to his country." Col. Brown was chosen for the delicate and dangerous enterprise of going to Canada to excite the province against the rule of the mother country, and attach it to the cause of the Revolution. It was while there that he sounded the character of Arnold, whom he charged in a handbill with levying contributions on the inhabitants of Canada, for his own private use and benefit. He was then but a young man, and was only 36 years old, when, on the 19th day of October, 1780, he, having made a sally with his men from Fort Paris, to assist Gen. Van Rensellaer in heading off Johnson with his tories and savages, fell in an ambuscade, at Stone Arabia, in Palatine, N. Y.

Gen. Fellows was at the battle of White Plains, and both he and General Patterson were survivors of the war. Rev. Cornelius Jones, the first minister of Sandisfield, and subsequently a wealthy farmer in Rome, N. Y., commanded a company of militia from the latter town, at the capture of Burgoyne. Col. Oliver Root of Pittsfield was a survivor of the ambuscade at Stone Arabia, where Col. Brown fell, and lived to an advanced age. Dr. Timothy Childs of Pittsfield was a surgeon in the Army, and marched with Capt. Noble's company of minute men, to Cambridge, in 1775. Rev. Whitman Welch of Williamstown, a chaplain in the Army, died near Quebec in 1776. Col. Mark Hopkins, of Great Barrington, died at White Plains.

The tories in Western Massachusetts were few in number, and occupied everywhere a very uncomfortable position. After the opening of hostilities, those who favored the cause of the King, at heart, were very chary in the expression of their sentiments. That there were a few brawlers, is evident, from the petition of the county convention assembled at Northampton in 1777. The clergy, as has already been stated, were almost unanimously in favor of the patriot cause. Among those who were in reality opposed to it were Rev. Mr. Ashley of Deerfield, who had married a relative of Gov. Hutchinson, and Rev. Mr. Newton of Greenfield, over whom Mr. Ashley was supposed to exercise considerable influence. On one occasion, these two clergymen made an exchange, and Mr. Ashley was informed by Mr. Newton that he might take the occasion to treat upon the subject of the Revolution, "by way of caution to the people." Mr. Ashley somewhat enlarged upon the liberty granted him, and seriously offended the congregation. During the intermission of service, at noon, the friends of the patriot cause assembled, and talked the matter over. They finally resolved themselves into a meeting, and chose a committee to take measures in relation to the afternoon preaching, which they did by fastening up the meeting house. When Mr. Ashley came to commence the afternoon service, he was met at the door by one of his Deerfield parishioners, who gave him a significant nudge with his elbow. After repeating this form of salutation, Mr. Ashley asked him the reason of the attack, and admonished him that he "should not rebuke an elder." "An elder? an elder?" replied his tormentor, "if you had not said you was an elder, I should have thought you was a poison sumach." Mr. Ashley had to retire without entering the church. But this was not the last of the reverend gentleman's troubles. Returning to his own parish, at Deerfield, he soon after preached a sermon in which he spoke against the patriot cause, and gave his opinion that those Americans who fell at Lexington had met with a fearful doom in the next world. On the following Sabbath, he undertook to enter his pulpit, but found it spiked up. After ineffectual attempts to enter, he turned to one of his deacons, and requested him to go and get his hammer, and force for him an entrance. The deacon was a blacksmith, but informed his pastor that he did not work on the Sabbath. At last, an axe was procured, and the pulpit entered.

Capt. Agrippa Wells, of Greenfield, (who, with his company, was present at the capture of Burgoyne,) was at one time at home on a furlough, and Rev. Mr. Newton, who, with all his leanings to toryism, had managed to keep a judicious seat upon the fence, called at the house of the officer to learn the news. He found the family at a meal, and, in the course of the conversation, either sportively or in earnest, asked the Captain what they intended to do with the tories. "What do with them?" shouted Capt. Wells, bringing his fist down upon the table with a force that made the table furniture ring and dance, "do with 'em, damn 'em, we intend to hang the devils." Mr. Newton probably did not indulge in any greater freedom of expression after this than he had before.

There was in Lenox a notorious tory, who stubbornly resisted all moral suasion plied by his Whig neighbors, to induce him to support the continental cause. The Vigilance Committee of the town finally took his case into serious consideration, and agreed to arrest and *scare* his toryism out of him. Accordingly, one day, on his appearance in the village for business, he was arrested and taken before the Committee, and told that he must either surrender his allegiance to King George, or dangle at the end of a rope from the sign-post. He told them to "hang, and be d——d," for he should continue a subject of his lawful king as long as he had life to serve him. The alternative was immediately proceeded with, and having fastened a halter about his neck, he was attended with due solemnity to the sign-post, pulled up, and suffered to remain until nearly defunct. They then let him down, and suffering him to revive, asked him if he was willing to hurra for the Continental Congress. Though somewhat tamed, he still refused, and was suspended a second time, until his situation became decidedly uncomfortable, and his executioners feared they had finished him. Being lowered again and plied with restoratives, he was brought to once more, and then informed that he must renounce his opposition, or hang *in earnest* a third time. The experiment proved successful, and he agreed to swing his hat in favor of the colonial cause. He was then taken into the tavern and favored with a glass of toddy, when he remarked—"Gentlemen, this is *one* way to make Whigs, *but, by thunder, it'll do it.*"

An aged lady still survives in Springfield, who receives a regular pension from the British Government, for services rendered that Government by her husband, who was on the tory side in the Revolution. She has probably received an aggregate of $10,000, in the course of her life.

Rev. Abraham Hill of Shutesbury was among those who were opposed to the patriot cause. His sentiments on this subject alienated him from his people so far that his connection with them was finally broken up, his church having become reduced to a solitary member. While it does not appear that any considerable number of the clergymen of Hampshire County served as chaplains in the revolutionary army, there were many of them who warmly espoused the American cause, among whom Rev. Dr. Joseph Lyman of Hatfield was conspicuous. Among those who served as chaplains in the army, from Berkshire, were Rev. George Throop of Otis, Rev. Daniel Avery of Windsor, and Rev. Thomas Allen of Pittsfield, who was a participator in the battle of Bennington. One of the chaplains from Hampshire County, Rev. Jonathan Smith of Chicopee, still survives, and his silver hair and venerable form are familiar to all in the region of his home, who attend the annual celebrations of the National birthday.

It was during the period of the Revolutionary war that those steps were taken which subsequently led to the establishment of one of the national armories in Springfield. The town became, at first, a recruiting post and rendezvous for soldiers. Then, in consequence of its inland and central situation, and its distance from points subject to sudden attacks of the enemy, it was fixed upon as a depot for military stores, and a place for repairing arms, &c. At that time the repairing shops were on Main street, and the mechanics employed lived in the same locality. No public buildings were erected then, and a laboratory for cartridges, and such other fireworks as were used, occupied a barn. A few cannon were also cast at this point, and the late Gen. Mattoon of Amherst, one of Hampshire's bravest and most energetic spirits in the Revolution, used to tell of an order that he received from Gen. Gates, to proceed to Springfield, and convey a number of cannon from that point to the field of operations in New York. The General rode from Amherst to Springfield on Sunday, and with a small body of men, accomplished the task, "and those cannon told at Saratoga." In the course of two or three years, during 1778 and 1779, the works were moved to the Hill, where, modified and amplified to an extent that rivals the armories of the old world, they still remain. The works in their earlier days were protected by a guard, and after the close of the war, in 1784, sixty troops came from West Point, under the command of Major J. Williams, and "were stationed there for the Winter, as a guard to the magazine and other military stores on Continental Hill."

The scarcity of money in the army during the Revolution, is very strikingly illustrated by an incident which occurred in West Springfield. After the capture of Burgoyne, a detachment of the American army arrived at that town, on their way Eastward. While there, the paymaster was taken sick, and was attended faithfully for several days by Dr. Chauncey Brewer of Springfield. At the close of his sickness, he informed the Doctor that he had no money, and insisted that he should take for his fee the *money box*. This he accepted, and it is still preserved by Mr. James Brewer of Springfield, as a precious memorial of "the times that tried men's souls."

The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, signed on the 3d of September, 1783, was duly celebrated by such public demonstrations of joy, in many of the towns of Western Massachusetts, as the impoverished condition of the people would permit. The extent of these demonstrations was, however, no indication of the deep sense of relief and gratification arising from the fact that the many sacrifices that had been offered, of life and treasure, had purchased that freedom for which they had been so nobly made. There was a public celebration of the event at Westfield. The "morning was ushered in," by the report of cannon, and a flag of the United States, then a new ensign, was displayed at the top of a pole erected on the green. At noon, thirteen cannon were fired in honor of the states then composing the confederacy. The assembly then proceeded to the church, and listened to an appropriate sermon from Rev. Noah Atwater, the pastor of the Westfield church, "and an excellent anthem was sung, suited to the occasion." After the exercises closed, the majority of the leading citizens, with a number of gentlemen from Springfield and the neighboring towns, sat down to a dinner. The toasts which followed were "each accompanied by a discharge of cannon." The company drank to the United States, to Peace, to the generous and faithful allies of the states, to the Continental Congress, to Gen. Washington, to the memory of those who had fallen, to oblivion to all distinction of whig and tory among the people, and they drank—

> "Success to the lover, honor to the brave,
> Health to the sick and freedom to the slave."

The evening exercises consisted of a brilliant display of fireworks. The Hampshire Herald, from which this account is taken, follows its report with the statement that during the preceding week about 700 or 800 troops, on their way home from the wars, had passed through the town, and testifies to the decency and good order of their behavior. Northampton also celebrated the event. A sermon was preached on the occasion by Rev. Mr. Spring, and the proclamation of peace was read from the court house steps, by the sheriff of the county, before the militia under arms, and a large concourse of gentlemen; "and the evening was concluded with decent mirth and hilarity." The ladies of the town, who had been as deeply engaged in the cause of the Revolution as their fathers, husbands and brothers, were much offended because they were allowed no part in the matter, and, on the next day, met and had a celebration by themselves. After drinking to Lady Washington and Congress, the following toasts and sentiments were given: "Reformation to our husbands," "May the gentlemen and ladies ever unite on joyful occasions," "Happiness and prosperity to our families," "Reformation to the men in general," and "May reformed husbands ever find obedient wives." Some miserable rhymester of the day caricatured their movements, in the public prints, and described their procession as follows:

"The presidentess, spry to leap,
Led first as shepherd leads the sheep,
The rest pushed on with sturdy straddle,
With each in hand a pudding paddle.
By neat tow strings all at their backs,
Hung thirteen pretty little sacks;
All tied tight they did conceal
Just thirteen quarts of Indian meal.
Each had a spoon of white-wood metal,
Each at her side a nice tin kettle.
Thus fixed, they marched right through the town,
Nor would be stopped by spark or clown.
Old Dido with her Tyrian band
Ne'er cut a flash one half so grand,
While they moved on with pomp and show,
To take some tea and pudding too."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SHAYS REBELLION—ITS ORIGIN AND PROGRESS.

The joy of peace and the exultation of freedom were destined to give early place to an apprehension of evil, springing not from foreign foes, for they were vanquished, but from internal dissensions and lawless outbreaks of popular force. The expenses of the war, the depreciation of the paper issues of money, the heavy taxation, and the extent of town and individual debts, began, some two or three years previous to the close of the war, to awaken a spirit of popular discontent in Massachusetts, that, in the course of a few years, ripened into a most unhappy and disgraceful rebellion. More than any other cause—more than taxation or deterioration of money—the wide existence of private indebtedness, and the legal efforts made for the collection of claims, operated to bring about the uneasiness and its shameful and disastrous results. It is a common fault that, in times of pecuniary distress, the people attribute to the government the evils from which they suffer, and it is not a subject of marvel that when a proportion of the people felt themselves helplessly within the power of their creditors, they should grow restive, and seek in untried channels the relief which common means failed to command; nor is it new that at such times demagogues should be found ready to take advantage of popular discontent, to win notoriety to themselves, and advance their own interests. Conventions began to be held in Western Massachusetts, as early as 1781, to consult upon the subject of grievances. These Conventions were made up of delegates from several towns, and, based on their action, demagogism took early occasion to excite the spirit of rebellion. The earliest and most inveterate demagogue in the field was Samuel Ely. He was a cast-off, irregular preacher, who had acted as a minister of the Gospel several years at Somers, Ct. He was a vehement, brazen-faced declaimer, abounding in his hypocritical pretensions to piety, and an industrious sower of discord; and he delighted in nothing more than in arousing jealousies between the poor and the rich. He brought his misguided parishioners at Somers to such a deplorable condition in a few years that they were constrained to call a Council of the neighboring ministers, who, upon submitting to an examination his moral and literary qualifications, unhesitatingly pronounced him unfit for the desk, and he was compelled to leave, and Hampshire County became his subsequent home, and the scene of his operations. Here he soon found his place, and his tools. No field could have been better prepared for his seditious spirit. He promoted the calling of Conventions, and then used their action as a pretext for rebellion and riot, and was but too successful. In the month of April, 1782, he succeeded in raising a mob of sufficient force to disturb the holding of the Supreme Judicial Court and the Court of Common Pleas at Northampton. For his connection with this affair, he was arrested, and pleading guilty to the indictment against him, was condemned to a term of imprisonment in Springfield. While under sentence, and at a time when the people were withdrawn from the town, a mob assembled and released him. Three persons, supposed to be ringleaders in the rescue, were arrested and committed to jail in Northampton. These were Capt. Dinsmore, Lieut. Paul King, and Lieut. P. Bardwell, and they were held as hostages for the delivery of Ely. Another mob then gathered for the release of the ringleaders. They assembled in Hatfield to the number of 300 persons, under Capt. Reuben Dickinson, while the Sheriff of the County, Gen. Elihu Porter of Hadley, called out the militia to the number of 1,200, for the protection of the jail. On the 15th of June, Capt. Dickinson dispatched three men to Northampton, with a proposition to the Sheriff for a committee to meet the rioters one mile from Northampton, in two hours and a half from the delivery of the message. Gen. Porter declined, and the next morning received the following note from Dickinson: "The demands of our body are as follows: that you bring the prisoners that are now in jail, viz. Capt. Dinsmore, Lt. King and Lt. Bardwell, *forthwith.* That you deliver up Dea. Wells' bonds, and any other that may be given in consequence of the recent disturbance. The above men to be delivered on the parade, now in our possession—the return to be made in half an hour." This insulting demand was considered, and so far yielded to that the three men were released on their parole of honor, agreeing to deliver up the body of Samuel Ely to the Sheriff, or in default thereof, their own bodies, on the order of the General Court. Nothing could have been more contemptibly pusillanimous than the conduct of Gen. Porter on this occasion. That the leniency of the General Court in the treatment of this breach of the peace was the cause of the subsequent disturbances is not now to be said, but the fact that all the notice they took of it was, at their session in the November following, to pardon every man concerned in the riot, except Ely, would naturally lead to that opinion.

This action of the General Court, if it was intended for good, failed entirely of its end, for the "mobbers," as they were called, placed the construction of fear and weakness upon their leniency. The very next year, on the last day of the holding of the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of the General Sessions of the Peace, at Springfield, it being in the month of May, a mob collected from different parts of the county to the number of about sixty, to prevent the session. In the forenoon, they showed no disposition to oppose the Courts, but at two o'clock in the afternoon, they assembled at a tavern, resolved themselves into a Convention of the County for the redress of grievances, and then, after passing a series of resolves, adjourned to an elm tree near the Court House, armed with bludgeons. At length, the bell rang for the assembling of the Court, when the Judges, headed by the Sheriff, appeared, and were opposed as they endeavored to enter the building. The Sheriff calmly expostulated, but without effect, save upon the inhabitants who had assembled, and who immediately commenced an action upon the mob, and succeeded in repulsing them. Those who could retire were glad to get off with broken heads and contused faces, while several were taken and committed to prison. Afterwards, by a regular procedure, they were brought before the Court of Sessions for examination, and were bound to appear for trial before the Supreme Court.

On the 29th of September following, a meeting of the Committees of seven towns was held at Deerfield, "to take into consideration the deplorable situation the people of the County and the Commonwealth are in, and the more deplorable situation they are soon like to be in, by reason of the very great scarcity of a circulating medium." The Convention professed to see before them a general and awful bankruptcy, and, while they did not assume to point out the measures of relief, they thought something should be done. Among the grievances complained of by this Convention was the burden placed upon them by their location in the Northern part of the County, being thus distant from the Courts of Justice and the offices of the Register and Treasurer, and, in consequence, subject to much more expense than those living in the middle and Southern parts of the County. This trouble they proposed to remedy by petitioning the General Court for a division of the County, or for the removal of the Courts wholly from Springfield to Northampton. The Convention deemed it of importance that a Convention of the County, should be held to take these and other matters into consideration, and requested delegates from the several towns to meet at Hatfield on the 20th of October, at the house of Seth Marsh, for that purpose. Accordingly, on that day, delegates from twenty-seven towns in the County assembled, and discussed the subjects of the National and State debts, and the necessity of their payment. This body was moderate and judicious in the expression of its views, but while it recommended the good people of the County to acquire, by industry in their several callings, the money necessary for the payment of their taxes, they expressed the opinion that it was impossible for them to do so at so rapid a rate as the Government demanded.

At the close of the war, the people of the Commonwealth had the opportunity of seeing just how far they had become involved, and what burdens rested upon them. The State debt amounted to more than £1,300,000, and there was due the Massachusetts officers and soldiers no less than £250,000, while the proportion of the federal debt, for which the State was responsible, was, at least, £1,500,000. Every town was also in debt for the supplies it had furnished its soldiers. When it is remembered that, for nearly nine years, the expenditures that created this debt had been in progress, and that a large portion of the productive forces of the State had been diverted into the channel of war, it can readily be imagined that a people never rich, must have become extremely poor. The impost and excise duties could only partially relieve the taxation upon polls and estates. Legislation became difficult. The people complained of the policy of paying only the interest on the debt of the State, as not lightening them of their burdens, and then they complained when, in 1784, the Legislature issued a tax of £140,000 towards the redemption of the debt, as well as when, two years subsequently, £100,000 was assessed for the same purpose. At this time, and consequent upon the loose morals to which war so inevitably leads, there had sprung up a love of luxury and indolence. The thrifty and staid habits of earlier days had been broken in upon by the excitements of the Revolution, and the whole public mind and morals suffered. Credit abroad was good, and a ruinous superfluity of importation followed. The opposition of policy between private debtors and creditors was not greater than that between rival interests in the Legislature. Those who represented the landed interest were in favor of raising the whole revenue by impost duties, while those representing the commercial interest protested against the policy as unjust.

On the third of July, 1782, the "Tender Act" was passed, for the benefit of private debtors. This made neat cattle and other articles a legal tender, and by its retrospective operation only tended to suspend lawsuits, and thus increase the very evil it was intended to obviate. This law did not last long, but it lived long enough to set a high example of injustice to creditors, which lawlessness too readily followed. Congress having promised half pay for life to such officers as should remain in the service, by a resolve of the 22d of March, 1782, commuted the sum to five years' full pay, which latter act, though involving a change extremely favorable to the States, raised a great outcry. This matter of commutation was one of the grievances complained of at the Deerfield and Hatfield Conventions, though the army officers had but little for the outcry raised on their account, the paper promises they received even being insufficient to make up the losses they had experienced on the nearly worthless money they had received for their regular pay. Their securities then passed into the hands of speculators, when the shameless cry was raised that the Commonwealth was not in honor bound to pay a man more for them than they had cost him, and should avail itself of the depreciation of its securities for its own benefit.

It has already been seen that the machinery which popular discontent proposed for the relief of its difficulties was Conventions and mobs, and this was the machinery used from first to last. The Conventions were at first respectable, and disclaimed all connection with mobs. Subsequently they became the abettors of violence. The mobs themselves had originally one object, and that, the stoppage of the Inferior Courts, so that debts might not be collected, and subsequently the destruction of the Superior Courts, so that themselves might not be in danger of trial for their crimes. In this was found the real motive which actuated the rioters, while their pretended motives were based upon the action of the Conventions, which published their lists of grievances, declaring them to be attributable to a defective Constitution, a badly framed Government, and oppressive legislation. The bold charges of the Conventions carried with them a moral power which, while it weakened the Government and drew to them the sympathies of many who at first would have shrunk from all thoughts of treasonable violence, gave decided countenance to the rioters, and strengthened the hands of the demagogues who led them. It was undoubtedly the fact, too, that, as the Conventions grew stronger and more denunciatory, better men with better motives appeared among the leaders of the mob, insomuch that whereas, at first, the mob was composed of a set of unprincipled scoundrels, who were willing to follow the lead of Ely, it finally became a larger and far more respectable body, with more respectable leaders. It thus proved that the more the Conventions increased in magnitude and decreased in character, the larger became the mob and more elevated, until, at last, they stood on even ground, and played into each others' hands. Between the Conventions and the mobs, everything became a grievance. Lawyers were a grievance because they assisted in the administration of justice. This prejudice went so far that by popular voice they were excluded alike from the House of Representatives and the Senate. In the scarcity of a circulating medium, there was a loud popular call for an emission of paper money. The Legislature refused, and that was a grievance. In short, the grievances were nearly numberless, as will hereafter be seen.

On the 15th of August, 1786, a Convention of thirty-seven towns in Worcester County assembled in the town of Worcester, and voted, to start with, that it was "a lawful and constitutional body." It then entered into a discussion of the causes of discontent among the people, and at last agreed upon the following enumeration of them: "1. The sitting of the General Court in Boston; 2d, The want of a circulating medium; 3d, The abuses in the practice of the law and the exorbitance of the fee-table; 4th, The existence of the Courts of Common Pleas in their present mode of administration; 5th, The appropriating the revenues arising from the impost and excise to the payment of the interest of the State securities; 6th, The unreasonable and unnecessary grants made by our General Court to the Attorney General and others; 7th, The servants of the Government being too numerous and having too great salaries; 8th, This Commonwealth granting aid or paying moneys to Congress while our public accounts remain unsettled." This was a formidable list of grievances, and the Convention only proposed that they should be redressed by lawful and constitutional means, and bore particular testimony against all riots, mobs and unconstitutional combinations. The Convention voted to correspond with its sister counties in Convention, and peaceably adjourned.

The tendency of this and similar Conventions was plainly seen and pointed out by the more judicious correspondents of the public prints of the period. These writers attributed the prevailing pressures to extravagance in living and dress, and to the large consumption of British fabrics. One says: "How much soever we may be oppressed, yet thus much is certain; we cannot be oppressed without justice. Why then should we wish to stop its execution? If we have honestly involved ourselves in public or private debts, let us as honestly discharge the obligations we have voluntarily contracted. We have nobly bled for our liberty, and finally obtained the victory. But at the rate we are about to use it, God knows it cannot be much preferable to slavery." Another says—"We see them assembling in Conventions to concert measures to defraud their own and the public creditors." Still another declares that "these Conventions naturally tend to weaken and subvert the Government." The Conventions came also under the lashing pen of satire, which, following their mode of procedure, declared it "a grievance that money is scarce and a greater grievance that honesty is scarcer; a grievance that one knave leads ten fools by the nose; a grievance that those who have done the most to make the times bad should complain most of the badness of them; a grievance that men who cry and bawl, merely to make themselves popular, should be regarded, and a grievance that we should be so ungrateful to Heaven for the salvations and blessings we have received, as to murmur at difficulties necessarily incurred in order to obtain them."

The Worcester Convention was followed, on the 22d of August, by a Convention of delegates, from fifty towns in Hampshire County, at Hatfield. This Convention was called together by circular letters from a minor Convention previously held in Pelham. The Hatfield Convention was in session for three days, and, following the example of the Worcester body, proceeded at first to vote itself a constitutional assembly. It then decided upon a full score of grievances, and put forth its grievances and votes in numeral order, as follows:

1st. The existence of the Senate.

2d. The present mode of Representation.

3d. The officers of the Government not being annually dependent on the representatives of the people, in General Court assembled, for their salaries.

4th. All the civil officers of Government, not being annually elected by the representatives of the people in General Court assembled.

5th. The existence of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace.

6th. The fee table as it now stands.

7th. The present mode of appropriating the impost and excise.

8th. The unreasonable grants made to some of the officers of Government.

9th. The Supplementary aid.

10th. The present mode of paying the governmental securities.

11th. The present mode adopted for the payment and speedy collection of the last tax.

12th. The present mode of taxation, as it operates unequally between the polls and estates, and between landed and mercantile interests.

13th. The present method of practice of the attorneys at law.

14th. The want of a sufficient medium of trade, to remedy the mischiefs arising from a scarcity of money.

15th. The General Court sitting in the town of Boston.

16th. The present embarrassments on the press.

17th. The neglect of the settlement of important matters depending between the Commonwealth and Congress, relating to moneys and averages.

18th. *Voted*: This Convention recommend to the several towns in this county, that they instruct their representatives to use their influence in the next General Court, to have emitted a bank of paper money, subject to a depreciation; making it a tender in all payments, equal to silver and gold, to be issued in order to call in the Commonwealth's securities.

19th. *Voted*, That whereas, several of the above articles of grievances arise from defects in the Constitution; therefore a revision of the same ought to take place.

20th. *Voted*, That it be recommended by this convention, to the several towns in this county, that they petition the General Court immediately to come together, in order that the other grievances complained of may, by the Legislature, be redressed.

21st. *Voted*, That this Convention recommend it to the inhabitants of this county, that they abstain from all mobs and unlawful assemblies, until a constitutional method of redress can be obtained.

22d. *Voted*, That Mr. Caleb West be desired to transmit a copy of the proceedings of this Convention to the Conventions of the Counties of Worcester and Berkshire.

After further votes, giving the chairman power to call the Convention together again when sufficient cause might be represented to him, and to publish the proceedings in the Springfield prints, the Convention adjourned. A more terrible list of grievances than they conjured into existence was probably never collected together, and, as they were put forth by a body of delegates from fifty towns, and sent into other counties, they could not but exert a very powerful influence in stirring up the riotous spirit which the body professed to deprecate. They had done all they possibly could to make the Government appear contemptible and even execrable. It was not strange, therefore, that violence should immediately follow. On the 29th of August,—four days after the rising of the Convention,—the day appointed by law for the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas and the General Sessions of the Peace at Northampton—there assembled in the town, from different parts of the county, a large mob, some of them armed with swords and muskets, and some with bludgeons, with the professed intention of stopping the session of the Courts, and preventing the transaction of business. The newspapers of the day and region estimated their numbers at 400 or 500, while Minot, who probably was guided by the representations of the judges themselves, estimates the number to have been nearly 1,500. The mob took possession of the ground adjoining the Court House, and dispatched a messenger to the justices, and the other gentlemen of the Court who had already assembled, with the not over-impolite statement that, as the people labored under divers grievances, it was "inconvenient" that the Court should sit for the dispatch of business, until there was an opportunity for redress. The Court, of course, saw the whole drift and meaning of the message. If they had any doubts, based on the smoothness of the language used, the bludgeons and muskets displayed without, the threats of violence openly uttered, and the shrieking of fifes and the beating of drums left nothing to be misunderstood. The answer of the justices was necessarily what the rioters would have it. No Court was held, and the mob, after holding possession of the Court House until 12 o'clock at night, "retired and dispersed, having conducted from first to last with less insolence and violence, and with more sobriety and good order than is commonly to be expected in such a large and promiscuous assembly, collected in so illegal a manner, and for so unwarrantable a purpose." The adjournment of the Court was without day, and it is facetiously recorded that *one of the most sensible* of the rioters was not satisfied with the form of language used, as, under it, "the Court might sit in the night."

Bowdoin, then Governor of the State, issued a proclamation, in which he called upon "all judges, justices, sheriffs, grand jurors, constables and other officers, civil and military, to suppress all such riotous proceedings" as those at Northampton. The proclamation closed with a beautiful and spirited appeal to patriotism, personal honor and State pride, and a direction to the Attorney General to prosecute and bring to condign punishment, not only the ringleaders and abettors of the Northampton mob, but the ringleaders and abettors of any subsequent riot. Owing to the threatening aspect of affairs, the Governor proclaimed the assembling of the General Court on the 18th of October. Subsequent events induced him to revoke the order, and to hasten the opening of the session, by proclaiming it for the 27th of September.

The newspapers of Western Massachusetts—not over numerous, to be sure—were, without an exception, on the side of law and order, although their proprietors had more cause of complaint than any of their neighbors. So great was the pressure upon them, in consequence of the duties upon paper and advertisements, that they were with great difficulty kept in existence. The Hampshire Herald, published in Springfield, after two or three years' existence, was obliged to suspend publication, in September, 1786. All the ablest public correspondence of the period was against conventions and the mobs. Every week gave issue to some calm discussion of the agitating subjects of the day, some noble appeal, or some well conceived satirical criticism. One writer, after stating that "too much praise cannot be given to that numerous band of patriots who, by neglecting their farms, crops and manufactures, have expended more, in time and money, than their whole quota of the national debt," very apply quotes from McFingal the following lines:

"And when by clamors and confusions
Your freedom's grown a public nuisance,
Cry "liberty" with powerful yearning
(As he doth "fire" whose house is burning,)
Though he already has much more
Than he can find occasion for.

While every dunce that turns the plains,
Though bankrupt in estate and brains,
By this new light transformed to traitor,
Forsakes his plough to turn dictator,—
Starts an haranguing chief of whigs,
And drags you by the ears like pigs.
All bluster, armed with factious license,
Transformed at once to politicians,
Each leather aproned clown, grown wise,
Presents his forward face to advise,
And tattered legislators meet
From every workshop in the street.
His goose the tailor finds new use in
To patch and turn the Constitution.
The blacksmith comes with sledge and grate
To iron-bind the wheels of State,
The quack forbears his patients souse
To purge the Council and the House,
The tinker quits his moulds and boxes
To cast assembly men at proxies."

Nor were the clergy behind the press in their opposition to the seditious movements of the day. Both had battled bravely, side by side, for liberty and right, during the long years of the Revolutionary War, and both were on the side of law in the troubled years that followed. The people of Boston were so far moved by the evils that threatened, that they issued a circular letter to all the towns in the Commonwealth, of which the following extract will exhibit the aim and spirit:—"Fellow citizens—we now entreat you, by the mutual ties of friendship and affection, by the sacred compact which holds us in one society, by the blood of brethren shed to obtain our freedom, by the tender regard we feel for our rising offspring, claiming freedom from our hands as their inheritance by the grant of Heaven, to use your endeavor that redress of grievances be sought for in a Constitutional and orderly way, and we pledge ourselves to join our exertions with yours in the same way, to obtain redress of such as do really exist." But the spirit of discontent and rebellion had taken deep root, and, nourished as it was by the assiduous culture of demagogism, extended its branches upward and abroad.

On the week succeeding the Northampton demonstration occurred the day for opening the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace at Worcester, and a mob of at least 300 men were on the ground to stop the proceedings. They were under the command of Capt. Adam Wheeler of Hubbardston, though, when charged with being their leader, he disclaimed both the office and the responsibility. His Lieutenant was Benjamin Converse of Hardwick. Other principal officers were Capt. Hazeltine of Hardwick, and a Capt. Smith of Shirley. Only 100 of the men were under arms. The remainder carried bludgeons. The members of the Court had arrived in the town, and had assembled at a public house. They issued forth, at the hour appointed for opening the Court, and walked through the crowd without molestation, until they arrived at the foot of the Court House steps, when they were stopped by the presentation of bayonets. Judge Ward, a man of spirit, had no intention of being thus disposed of. He expostulated, but it was of no avail. He then told the commander of the mob that he wished to address the people. This he was allowed to do from the steps, and he gave them a speech two hours long, in which he informed the crowd that they were committing treason, and that their punishment would be the gallows. Alluding to the request that had been made by the mob, that the Courts should be adjourned without day, he told them that it was against the law thus to adjourn. But his speech was without effect. The mob insisted on the adjournment, and re-inforcements coming in, and the militia being known to be so far infected as not to be depended upon, the Judges at last gave way. The Court of Common Pleas adjourned *sine die*, and the Court of Sessions to the 21st of November.

On the 11th of September, a hundred armed men assembled at Concord, under the command of Job Shattuck of Groton, and the afore-mentioned Capt. Smith. This was one of the shabbiest mobs that had thus far appeared. On the following day, they took possession of the ground opposite the Court House, and there they wantonly outraged such men and horses as passed over a space which they pretended to guard. They had plenty of rum to drink, and hay to lie on. In the afternoon, they were re-inforced by a company of 90 men from the counties of Hampshire and Worcester, under the command of Adam Wheeler and Benjamin Converse. Others scattered in, and rallied to the standard of the mobbers, until the whole body numbered 300 men. At this time, a Convention was sitting in the town, and, for the first time in the history of the convention movement, direct communications were opened between the deliberative and the armed bodies, and they acted in concert. It was the day appointed for holding the Courts of Middlesex County, and the Convention and the mob joined in a message to the justices, informing them of their determination to resist any attempt to proceed to business. The Court was intimidated, and the object of the mob accomplished. Two thirds, at least, of the rioters, got drunk that night, and all appeared indifferent to the object that had brought them together. In fact, they were only kept together by the commanders whose names have been mentioned, with one or two other leaders. This mob had been emboldened by the previous action of the Governor, who, after having issued a positive order for the assembling of the militia to protect the Courts, countermanded his order, on representations that the people of Concord would open pacific negotiations with the rioters. At that time, too, the Governor had but little faith in the loyalty of the militia, for multitudes who would take no open part in the rebellion were known secretly to favor its cause and councils.

While these operations were in progress in Hampshire and the middle and Eastern Counties, sedition was equally busy in Berkshire. It will be remembered that the first demonstration against the King's Courts, at the opening of the Revolution, occurred in that County. Having succeeded in that measure, they were tardy in becoming willing that the Courts should resume their functions. No Probate Courts were held from 1774 until 1778. At a County Convention held during the latter year, it was found that several towns which had been consulted as to their desire for the opening of Courts of Common Pleas and Sessions of the Peace had decided against the project, by large majorities. It was not until 1779 that the County consented, by a small majority in Convention, that these Courts might be opened. No business was done by them until 1780, and during this long period, cases had accumulated to a most burdensome extent. The agitation of the subject of grievances commenced almost immediately afterwards, and when the commotions of 1786 came on, Berkshire was no whit behind her sister Counties in the materials of rebellion. During the last week in August, and nearly contemporaneously with the Convention at Hatfield, a County Convention came together at Lenox, and, though the body was more temperate and judicious than other Conventions whose action has been recorded, it had a reformatory voice, although that voice was respectful to the Government. The Convention approved of many acts and sundry schemes of governmental policy that had been condemned by other Conventions, and solemnly engaged, so far as their influence would go, to support the Courts of Justice, in the legal exercise of their powers, and to allay the popular excitement that prevailed, both against the Courts and the Government. The event proved that their influence was small. At the opening of the Court of Common Pleas, at Great Barrington, a few days subsequently, a mob assembled, to the number of eight hundred, and not only prevented a session of the Court, but abused the justices, three of whom they compelled to sign an obligation that they would not act under their commissions, until the grievances complained of should be redressed. The fourth justice, who was also a member of the Senate, refused to sign, and did not sign, the obligation. Whether this fact exhibits the pusillanimity of the others, or the leniency of the mob towards one from whom, as a legislator, they might look for favor, does not appear. But they were not content with these outrages, and so proceeded to break open the jail, and release the debtors confined there.

The whole State was now in a ferment. Rebellion was everywhere, and anarchy stared the people boldly in the face. Other and more powerful spirits were entering into the conflict. One of the strongest and most dangerous and persistent of these, was Luke Day of West Springfield. Day was commissioned as a Captain at the opening of the Revolution, and served his country with honor in the Continental army, for seven years, when he returned home poor, and a major by brevet. During the early part of the Autumn in which the principal riots occurred, he was busy in exciting discontent and rebellion. Frequent meetings were held at the old Stebbins Tavern, in his native town, in whose heated councils he was always first and foremost. His leading companions were Adjt. Elijah Day, Benjamin Ely, Dan Ludington, and others who had suffered from the depreciation of the circulating medium. Day was a good declaimer, and his bar-room harangues were powerful and effective. He succeeded in drawing quite a large company to his standard, and proceeded to drilling them daily on the West Springfield Common. At first, his men were armed with hickory clubs, while they wore in their hats a sprig of hemlock. At the same time, Daniel Shays of Pelham, who had also been a Captain in the Continental army, was carrying on operations, similar to those of Day. Shays had not served through the war, but left the army in 1780. Judging from what is known of these two men, it was more the result of accident, than any other cause, that Shays had the precedence, and the fortune to make his name infamous by association with the rebellion in which he was engaged. Day was the stronger man, in mind and will, the equal of Shays in military talent, and his superior in the gift of speech. The two were the leading spirits, and co-operated with each other.

Thus far, the demonstrations in Western Massachusetts had been made against the Inferior Courts. In doing this, the rioters had made themselves liable to indictment for high misdemeanor. Having progressed thus far, the next step was, of course, to stop the Supreme Judicial Courts, and, at this point, the rebellion changed its footing, and became plainly and unmistakably treasonable. The Supreme Judicial Court was to open at Springfield on Tuesday, Sept. 26th. The Government had anticipated a disturbance, and determined to act promptly, and meet force with force. On the Saturday evening preceding the session, 120 men, on the side of the Government, took possession of the Court House, and, with increasing numbers, held it during Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. They were under the command of Major General William Shepard of Westfield, and were determined, at all risks, to protect the Court in the exercise of its functions during the session. On Tuesday, their numbers had risen to 300, or more. The insurgents, thus anticipated, began to muster on Sunday, and when Tuesday morning came, their numbers fully equaled those of the Government party. Both Shays and Day were on the ground, acting together, and passed the time in drilling and haranguing their troops. The insurgents, as a body, were apparently, and, perhaps, really, desirous of a battle, for the purpose of gaining possession of the Court House. But their principals knew better than this, for the militia were made up of the best men in the county, were perfectly equipped and well officered, while, except in numbers, the mob were inferior to them in every respect. The Court was opened at the appointed time, but the Grand Jury did not appear, and was, in fact, under arms, at the door, for the protection of the Court that could do no business without them. During the day, the insurgents occupied ground about three quarters of a mile North of the Court House, in the vicinity of the present Ferry Street. Throughout the day, numbers flocked in from the towns around, and attached themselves to either standard, a company of militia not unfrequently marching in a body to join the insurgents, after they had been ordered from abroad to support the Government. The Government party wore a strip of white paper in their hats, to distinguish themselves from the hemlock bearers, and spies were traversing the space between the two bodies, alternately using the paper and hemlock badge, as they approached and mingled in the respective camps.

In the course of the day, the insurgents sent a message to the Court, proposing the conditions on which they would consent to disband and retire. These conditions were that the people should not be indicted for rising in arms to prevent the Courts from sitting at Northampton, or for appearing at that time to stop the proceedings of the Supreme Judicial Court; that no civil causes should be tried, except those in which both parties were ready and willing; that the militia embodied by the Government should not receive payment for their services, with several others of smaller moment. The Court refused these conditions, promptly and decidedly, and declared that they should execute the laws in accordance with their oaths. This produced the greatest uneasiness and excitement among the insurgents. They then complained to the Court that they had received insulting messages from the Government party, who had declared that they should not pass over the ground occupied by them. They were so far exasperated as to threaten an attack on the militia. At this time, Gen. Shepard had, for some purpose, gone to Northampton, and the command devolved upon Col. Burt of Longmeadow. To obviate this cause of dissatisfaction, they were told that they might pass over the ground occupied by the militia, if it would be any gratification to them, and they would behave themselves properly. Accordingly, Shays marched his men down, and back and forth, before the Government troops, thus taking an opportunity to show their strength, in numbers and arms. On Wednesday evening, both parties had been re-inforced, and were going through their exercises, each body preserving its lines and its sentry posts. On Thursday, a little before noon, the Court adjourned. This was the third day of the session, but it had accomplished nothing, the panel of jurors not having been filled. Previous to the adjournment, the Court decided not to go to Berkshire, according to appointment, as the same scenes were anticipated there. The militia, however, still remained upon the spot, and the insurgents became more turbulent than ever, and threatened again to march down and take the position which the militia had so firmly and persistently held. Gen. Shepard, who had then returned, drew his men all up in order, to receive them, and down they came. But in coming opposite the well armed lines, the mob was intimidated. At this time, there were 2,000 men on the ground, 1,200 of whom belonged to the insurgents, but only about one half of these had muskets, and but a few had bayonets. The remainder were armed with nothing but bludgeons. Passing by the Government troops, without daring to make a demonstration, they were not disturbed, and after parading their forces to their hearts' content, they retired to their former stand.

The Court room being vacant, its protection became a matter of no moment, and as threats had been issued in regard to the capture of the arsenal, Gen. Shepard withdrew his troops, and occupied ground upon the Hill, when the insurgents again marched down, and took possession of the ground so long coveted, and then so valueless. Another day passed, and then the insurgents, having become satisfied with what they had accomplished, or satisfied that they could accomplish nothing more, separated and retired, in which act they were immediately imitated by the militia. For four days the people of the town were thus kept in the most distressed condition, and were in hourly apprehension that a collision would take place that would fill their houses with the dead, wounded and dying, or lay them in ashes. Immediate neighbors were in opposite camps, and intimate friends were in arms against each other. The female portion of the population were subjects of great anxiety and distress, and it was with feelings of the greatest relief that they saw the forces evacuating the town, and welcomed their husbands and brothers to their homes. The intelligence of these operations was diffused in every part of the Commonwealth. The disaffected individuals in Berkshire either did not, or pretended they did not, believe that the Supreme Court had relinquished its intention to hold a session in that county. Accordingly, a formidable mob assembled at Great Barrington, on the day on which the Court should have assembled, and having found nothing upon which to vent their power, became riotous and turbulent, from sheer malice and mischief. Several individuals who were opposed to them in principle and policy, were obliged to flee from the place, and one gentleman who held an important office under the Government, was pursued in various directions, by armed men. Houses were entered and searched by the lawless rioters, and inoffensive citizens were fired upon. The whole proceedings were marked with that dastardly cowardice, which distinguishes a mob that has lost sight of all claims to respectability, or a respectable object, and seeks only for opportunities for revenge and insult.

On the 27th of September, the Legislature assembled according to proclamation, and immediately listened to the Governor's statement of the affairs that have been narrated. His speech was strong and decided, and forcible in its condemnation of the course pursued by the disaffected, even were the grievances of which they complained in existence. In his opinions, touching the treatment which the insurgents should receive at the hands of the Government, he was supported by the Senate, but the House was more or less affected by the sentiments of popular discontent, and while its members condemned the rebellion, they sympathized with its professed objects, and were really anxious that the tumult which had been raised should have an influence in effecting reforms that they felt to be necessary.

The joint Committee on the Governor's speech reported an approval of the Governor's conduct in raising the militia, and a promise to pay those who had been, or should be, called into service to defend the State, a determination to look into and redress all grievances, and a provision that the privileges of the writ of Habeas Corpus should be suspended for a limited time. The Senate agreed to the report at once, and the House, after a long discussion, agreed to all but the Habeas Corpus clause. This, after a long debate, was recommitted. Petitions for the abatement of grievances came in from every quarter—from County Conventions and towns. At last, a list of grievances was singled out for consideration and action. These were: "the sitting of the General Court in the town of Boston; the institution and regulation of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, with the mode of holding the Probate Courts; the burdens of the people arising from the scarcity of money, and the difficulties thereby accruing in the payment of back taxes and private debts; the fee-bill and the salaries of the officers of the Government." In the meantime, and while the House were busy in preparing a radically reformatory bill, the time approached for holding the Supreme Judicial Court at Taunton. The Senate and House concurred in a message to the Governor, requesting his serious attention to the protection of that Court, and the Governor responded, by informing the Legislature of the measures he had taken. The two houses again joined in a message to his Excellency, in which they promised support to the measures he had deemed necessary for the maintainance of order, and expressed the hope that the Governor would persevere in the exercise of his appropriate powers for enforcing obedience to the laws. In addition to the message, the Legislature passed a riot act. This act visited upon all offenders, who should continue, for the space of an hour, their combinations, after the act was read to them, with the confiscation of their property, the infliction of thirty-nine stripes, and imprisonment not more than one year, with thirty-nine stripes every three months during the term of imprisonment. The measures taken to protect the Court at Taunton were successful, the insurgents appearing at a distance only. The following week, the Court held its session at

Cambridge, supported by an army under Major General Brooks, whose force was so overwhelmingly large as to put the insurgents beyond all idea of resistance. At about this time, the Governor communicated to the Legislature the fact that a circular letter had been issued to the selectmen of the towns in Hampshire county, by the chief of the insurgents. This letter explains itself, and is as follows:

PELHAM, Oct. 23, 1786.

Gentlemen:—By information from the General Court, they are determined to call all those who appeared to stop the Court, to condign punishment. Therefore, I request you to assemble your men together, to see that they are well armed and equipped, with sixty rounds each man, and to be ready to turn out at a minute's warning; likewise to be properly organized with officers. DANIEL SHAYS.

The Governor's communication was referred to a committee, which reported a bill suspending the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, providing for trying traitors in any county, and for the pardon of all persons concerned in the previous acts of insurrection on taking their oath of allegiance previous to the first day of January, and not persevering in their crimes after the passage of the act. In the meantime, the House gave but too melancholy evidence that it was under the influence of lawless councils. Not that there was not evidence in that body of a disposition to support the Government, in case of open rebellion, but the members were infected with the idea that the grievances under which the people believed themselves to be suffering were such a palliation of their action, as to call for tender treatment. Outsiders looked on with apprehension, especially such as were decidedly on the side of order and good government. They knew the temper of the rebellion, and did not believe that mild measures were the proper remedy for it. But the circular letter of Shays, and the announcement that another Convention was to be held at Hadley, with other bold and insulting measures instituted by the revolutionists, brought them, in a measure, to their senses, and acts equivalent to those recommended by the Committee on the Governor's Message were passed. In partial conformity with that clause recommending the suspension of the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus, a bill was framed which empowered the Governor and Council to imprison without bail or mainprise such persons as the safety of the Commonwealth might require. On the 18th of November, the Legislature adjourned. Besides such acts as have been incidentally mentioned, they had passed acts for collecting arrear taxes in specific articles, for making real and personal estate a tender in discharge of executions and actions commenced in law, for rendering law processes less expensive, for appropriating one-third of the proceeds of the impost and excise duties for the exigencies of the government, and had given utterance to an address, instructing the citizens in their duties, &c.

But the Legislature had reckoned without their host. Rebellion had gone too far, and its agents and abettors had read an unmistakable timidity in the action of the General Court. The exercise of lawless power had debauched the minds of those who had engaged in it, and, although the popular cry still sounded upon the popular subject of popular grievances, the real motives that became predominant had connection as well with the overthrow of the Constitution as the advancement of private schemes of ambition and personal security. The leniency of the Government was stamped by the mob as an evidence of weakness and cowardice, and hardly a single individual, out of the thousands who had engaged in the insurrection, availed himself of the act of indemnity passed for his benefit. The legislators were hardly out of their chairs before a convention commenced its sessions in Worcester. This convention adopted an address to the people, in which they maintained the right of the people to examine and condemn the conduct of their rulers, declared the course of the rulers of Massachusetts to have been a mistaken one, and, at the same time, condemned the action of the insurgents in stopping the Courts, and begged the people not to obstruct them again. The proceedings of the convention, in the broad view, were characterized by calmness, impudence and cool assumption. On the 21st of November, two days before the address was issued, the Court of Sessions was, by adjournment, to be held at Worcester, but when the Court entered the town, they found not only a convention but a mob to receive them. No measures had been taken by the very conciliatory and pacific Legislature to defend the Court, and it was, of course, helpless. Here, as on some previous occasions, the mob assumed the title of "regulators." When the members of the Court, led by the Sheriff, arrived at the court house, they were met by a triple row of bayonets. The Sheriff, Col. William Greenleaf of Lancaster, addressed the crowd, telling them of the evil and danger of their course, and reading to them the Governor's proclamation and the riot act. But this availed nothing. During the Sheriff's address, he was interrupted by one of the leaders, who told him the people sought relief from grievances, that among the most intolerable was the Sheriff himself, and that next to his person in offensiveness were his fees, particularly in criminal executions. "If you consider my fees for criminal executions as oppressive," replied the Sheriff, "you need not wait long for redress, for I will hang every one of you, gentlemen, with the greatest pleasure, and without charge." For this sharp reply, some one in the mob revenged himself, by sticking a pine twig in the back of the Sheriff's hat, and as he retired with the judges, bearing unwittingly the rebel's badge, his appearance gave rise to jeering merriment that could not be repressed. They effectually dispersed the Court, and then the mob, which was in force in the region, undertook to co-operate with the insurgents at Concord and Cambridge. In the meantime, the Governor had not been idle, but had issued his orders to the Major Generals to hold their divisions in readiness for service, and his warrants for the arrest of the leaders, three of whom—Shattuck, Parker and Page—were arrested, the first making a desperate resistance, and receiving serious wounds in the capture. On the 5th of December, the Court of Common Pleas was to assemble at Worcester. Previous to this time, four hundred insurgents, from Hampshire and Worcester Counties, rendezvoused at Shrewsbury. While here, twenty horsemen from Boston, all men of large fortunes, went after them with the determination to arrest their leaders, but news of their approach preceded them, and the insurgents got out of the way, by proceeding to Holden. On the report that the horsemen had wounded a man at Shrewsbury, a party went back to give them fight, but the fear-inspiring score had retired, and the party proceeded to Grafton. Capt. Shays, with his party from Hampshire, marched to Rutland, and took up his quarters there, and, from that point, issued his orders to many towns in Hampshire and Worcester Counties, to join him. These movements all transpired during the week previous to the appointed session of the Court, and, on the Sunday evenning that intervened, the Grafton party entered Worcester, and took possession of the Court House. During the night, they were joined by several other parties. On Monday morning, the Worcester training band and alarm list paraded with 170 men, and marched down Main street towards the rebels. Advancing slowly, Capt. Howe sent forward an officer, to demand by what authority the highways were obstructed. He was told that "he might come and see." He then addressed his troops in a spirited manner, and gave them the order to charge bayonets and advance. Before their determined carriage the line of insurgents wavered, and breaking up by a rapid wheel, they gained an eminence before the Court House. The militia passed them, and then returned and were dismissed.

On Monday evening, the insurgents beat to arms, on an alarm that a company of light horse from Boston were approaching, and though the alarm proved to be a false one, they were so much startled by it that they lay upon their arms all night. About sunset, on Monday, there came on a very violent snow storm, yet intelligence came in that several companies of insurgents were on the march for Worcester, from Leominster, Brookfield, &c. The storm continued with unabated fury on Tuesday, yet a number of men had made their way in from Holden. This was the day for opening the Court, whose members, on seeing the large body of insurgents already present, and knowing that larger bodies were in the vicinity, adjourned the session of their body in accordance with orders from the Governor, until the 23d of January. On Tuesday evening, a serious alarm was raised among the insurgents from the fact that several of them had been seized with violent sickness, and they came to the belief that they had imbibed poison with their water. A quack doctor by the name of Samuel Stearns, belonging in Paxton, confirmed their fears by discovering a sediment in their glasses, which he declared to be a compound of arsenic and antimony. This increased the alarm, and then the mob remembered that they had purchased the sugar for their grog of an anti-

Shays merchant, in Worcester. He was, therefore, charged with the attempt to poison them. An intelligent physician appearing at this juncture, allayed their fears by pronouncing the sediment to be genuine Scotch snuff, and the merchant's clerk acknowledged that he had accidentally spilled a portion of that article into the sugar. The merchant restored entire peace and tranquillity by making the crowd a present of a few gallons of old Santa Cruz rum.

On Wednesday morning, the insurgents were joined by eighty men from Belchertown, and in the afternoon, Shays came in with 350 more. It would seem, from the movement of such large bodies of insurgents, that either they had been misinformed as to the intentions of the Government, or were determined to make a demonstration which should intimidate the authorities, the Legislature having adjourned. Capt. Luke Day of West Springfield had answered the call which Shays issued at Rutland, and, with 100 men and boys from Westfield, West Springfield and Longmeadow, started on the Saturday previous to the Worcester demonstration, for the East, and a company of fifty others followed him. But the storm of Tuesday was too much for their valor, and drove them all back to their homes. But Day had made rapid progress, and gone as far as Leicester. It is said that while there, he called at the house of a Mr. Sargeant to get some refreshments. Mr. Sargeant was an ardent government man, and on learning Day's character, he took him by the collar, thrust him out of the door, and, while he administered a parting kick, bade him give his respects to Shays, and tell him if he would call upon him he would treat him to the same compliment. Shays, on reaching Worcester, immediately billeted his soldiers upon the citizens of the town, and Wednesday found the place occupied by at least 1,000 insurgents. And then came on conferences between the members of the late Convention and the mob, and together they agreed upon a hypocritical petition to the Governor, copies of which were sent to all the towns in the three Western Counties. In this document, they complained of the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, pleaded in justification of their conduct, the movements of the people in the Revolution, and prayed that their friends in confinement, out of the counties to which they belonged, might, with the petitioners, have the benefits of the act of indemnity, and that they and the petitioners might, so long as they should behave themselves in an orderly manner, be safe in their persons and properties. The petitioners assured the Governor that they did not rise on account of their disaffection towards the Commonwealth, but because they could not provide for their wives and children, and pay their debts. They also prayed that the Courts in Berkshire, Hampshire and Worcester might be adjourned until after the May session of the General Court. The insurgents made no acknowledgment of error, and only promised to go home and preserve peace, on conditions that were impossible to be fulfilled by the Governor, were he disposed to accede to them. On Thursday, the insurgents retired from Worcester, though but a few of them disbanded and dispersed, for, at this very time, Gen. Shepard had 1200 men ready for the field, awaiting orders, and the leaders of the rebellion had begun to feel that their only safety was in keeping their men around them. Among the insurgents were a number of men from Berkshire, who, in returning through Northampton, were assailed by a volley of jokes from six or eight unarmed inhabitants. The regulators were over-sensitive, and retorted with foul abuse and insult, and, at last, became so infuriated as to make an attack on the crowd that gathered around, with their guns and swords. The inhabitants collected immediately, under proper officers, and escorted them out of the town. Wm. Hartly, one of the insurgents who belonged in Williamsburgh, was frozen to death before he reached home.

Thus, the Legislature had scarcely been adjourned two weeks, when the session of two Courts in Worcester had been broken up in consequence of the threats of the mob. The next point at which a Court was to be holden was in the County of Hampshire, and for the projected demonstration there, the insurgents instituted their preparations. Daniel Gray, the chairman of a Committee appointed by the leaders of the insurrection, issued the following address to the people of Hampshire County, which was published in the Hampshire Gazette:

"*Gentlemen:*—We have thought proper to inform you of some of the principal causes of the late risings of the people, and also of their present movement, viz.:

"1st. The present expensive mode of collecting debts, which, by reason of the great scarcity of cash, will, of necessity, fill our jails with unhappy debtors, and thereby a respectable body of people rendered incapable of being serviceable either to themselves or the community.

"2d. The moneys raised by impost and excise being appropriated to discharge the interest of governmental securities, and not the foreign debt, when these securities are not subject to taxation.

"3d. A suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, by which those persons who have stepped forth to assert and maintain the rights of the people are liable to be taken and conveyed even to the most distant part of the Commonwealth, and thereby subjected to unjust punishment.

"4th. The unlimited power granted to justices of the peace and Sheriffs, deputy Sheriffs and Constables, by the Riot Act, indemnifying them to the prosecution thereof; when, perhaps, wholly actuated from a principle of revenge, hatred and envy.

"*Furthermore*, be assured that this body, now at arms, despise the idea of being instigated by British emissaries, which is so strenuously propagated by the enemies of our liberties; and also wish the most proper and speedy measures may be taken to discharge both our foreign and domestic debt."

At this date, the Hampshire Herald, published in Springfield, seems to have had a resurrection, for an address from a leader of the insurgents—Thomas Grover of Montague—dated at Worcester, is recorded to have appeared in it, who opened with a declaration that it had "fallen to his lot to be employed in a more conspicuous manner than some others of his fellow citizens, in stepping forth in defense of the rights and privileges of the people, more especially of the County of Hampshire." Mr. Grover referred to the list of grievances published by Daniel Gray, and added to it very materially, by putting forth a list of reforms, which the insurgents were determined to "contend for." The more important of these were the revision of the Constitution, the total abolition of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, the removal of the General Court from the town of Boston, the abolition of the office of deputy sheriff, and certain other offices connected with the management of the financial affairs of the State.

While these efforts were in progress, to keep the public mind agitated on the subject of grievances, measures were taken by the leaders of the insurgents to raise and organize a formidable band of troops in the county, and a committee of seventeen was appointed to carry those measures into effect. This Committee was requested to write to the respective towns assigned it, directing them to meet and organize their companies, and to call them together for regimental organization. The Committee was constituted as follows: Capt. Fisk of South Brimfield, and Capt. Colton of Longmeadow for the 1st Regiment; Capt. Sackett of Westfield, and Capt. Day of West Springfield for the 2d Regiment; Capt. Jewell of Chesterfield, Capt. Brown of Whately, and Mr. Samuel Morse of Worthington, for the 3d Regiment; Capt. Shays of Pelham, Capt. Joseph Hinds of Greenwich, and Capt. Billings of Amherst, for the 4th Regiment; Capt. Foot of Greenfield, Capt. Dinsmore of Conway, Capt. Clarke of Colerain, and Capt. Hill of Charlemont, for the 5th Regiment; Capt. Grover of Montague, and Capt. Powers of Shutesbury, for the 6th Regiment.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations, which had a determined aspect, there was evident trepidation in the camps and councils of the regulators. The respectable constituents of Conventions had withdrawn from those bodies. The measures adopted by the Government plainly showed those who had trusted for reforms to the effect upon the Government of violent assemblages of the people, that they had been mistaken. A Convention assembled at Hadley on the 2d of January, under a most illiterate president, and with contemptibly small numbers. Its temper may be gathered from the fact that it advised the people to lay aside their arms, and resort to the more laudable mode of petition for redress. So dispirited and weak was the demonstration, that the newspaper wags of the time could not refrain from the utterance of their lampoons, one of which represented the "Robin Hood Club" to have made its exit at Hadley, a corpse, and then went on to describe the procession:

> "The corpse was preceded by the little man in the East, with a long white wand to clear the streets of little boys, who collected in great numbers, gazing at the wondrous novelty. At his right hand, the great and only remaining member of the Council of War, weeping over the petition of the men at

arms, addressed to the Governor and Council, which he carried open in his left hand.

PALL HOLDERS.

Earl of Greenfield.	*Earl of Chesterfield.*
Duke of Hamilton.	*Earl of Southwick.*

"It was argued as their number was so very small they must dispense with two of the usual number of pall holders, as otherwise they would make a very contemptible figure in the rear. The club being composed of members attached to an ancient custom in this country, the bier was therefore supported by four of their eldest sons, viz.: Gen. Pelham, Col. Luke Trumps, Col. Montague, and Capt. Amherst. The chairman followed the corpse as chief mourner, with his cap under his arm, and his venerable locks covered with a white cap, suggesting of what death he expected soon to die. Parson Montague at his left hand carrying before him a humble request to the inhabitants of the several towns in the County, (said to be draughted by the deceased in his last moments,) to lay aside their arms and petition the Legislature for a redress of their grievances, at the same time giving the chairman good consolation, and advising him to a preparation for his own hastening dissolution. The few remaining members closed the procession."

Even Shays himself had become secretly sick of the position he occupied, and without faith in his prospects. But a short time after he retired from Worcester, he had a conversation with a confidential officer of the Government, who put him the question (premising that he might answer it or not, at his option,) "Whether, if he had an opportunity, he would accept of a pardon, and leave his people to themselves." "Yes, in a moment," replied Shays. This reply was communicated to the Governor and Council, who empowered an officer to tell him that if he would immediately leave the insurgents, and engage to conduct in future as a good citizen, he should be protected, and in case he should be convicted in any Judicial Court, he should be pardoned. This Commission, owing to an early complication of events, was never executed.

But matters had now gone too far for sudden retraction. Some of the leaders were already in prison, and the others knew themselves to be in danger. They therefore remained in force, while the Government, willing to give them one more trial, and hoping that the addresses it had issued and the orders it had uttered, would, together with the evident decline of the popularity of the rebellion, bring them to their senses, took no measures to protect the Court, which by an adjournment by order of the Legislature, was to open at Springfield on the 26th of December. But this, like every show of lenity that had been made by the Government, was dishonored. On the day on which the Court was to open, Shays, with 300 armed men, marched into the town, and took possession of the Court House. Their respect for the Court led them to announce their business respectfully. A Committee consisting of Daniel Shays, Luke Day and Thomas Grover, sent a note to the justices, in the humble form of a petition, requesting them not to proceed to business. The justices had seen too much of the business not to understand the petition, and replied that, in consequence of the opposition, no business would be done. The insurgents then peaceably retired. News of these proceedings reached the Governor, and it settled the question of policy at once. He and his Council, in the absence of the Legislature, were determined to employ their full Constitutional powers in suppressing the Rebellion. The next Court was to be holden at Worcester. Accordingly, 700 men were ordered to be raised in the County of Suffolk, 500 in Essex, 800 in Middlesex, 1200 in Hampshire, and 1200 in Worcester, the whole amounting to 4,400 men, rank and file. The troops from Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex were ordered to rendezvous in the vicinity of Boston, on the 19th of January, those from Hampshire at Springfield, and those from Worcester were to join those from the Eastern Counties, at the town of Worcester. The command was intrusted to Major General Benjamin Lincoln. The supplies for this body were raised by a voluntary loan, offered by citizens of Boston, depending (and they did not depend in vain) on the Legislature to repay them when it should assemble. In the meantime, the Governor issued an address to the people, informing them of the measures he had taken for the protection of the Judicial Courts at Worcester, the repression of all insurgents against the Government, and the apprehension of all disturbers of the public peace; and he conjured the people, by everything valuable in life, to cooperate with him in every necessary exertion for restoring to the Commonwealth that order, harmony and peace upon which its happiness and character so much depended. The orders issued by the Governor to Gen. Lincoln, directed him to consider himself, at all times, under the direction of the civil officer, save where an armed force should appear to hinder the execution of his orders, and to call for further aid if he should need it. He was further ordered to apprehend, disarm and secure all who, in a hostile manner, should attempt the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of the Commonwealth, and particularly those in arms in Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire Counties.

That part of the army designed to act at Worcester, reached that town on the 22d of January, the day preceding the session of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, and, protected as they were by an overwhelming force, there was no attempt to disturb them.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SHAYS REBELLION — ITS DECLINE AND SUPPRESSION.

THE Government was so strongly in force in the Eastern and middle parts of the State that the cause of the insurgents there became hopeless, and they foresaw that whatever advantage they hoped to win, was to be won in the Western part of the State, and that, by a decided movement. Luke Day at this time had at his command, in West Springfield, 400 men, who showed as many bayonets. These he had billeted upon the inhabitants, and was exercising daily, in preparation for assisting Shays in an attack upon the Springfield Arsenal. This depot of arms was greatly coveted by the insurgents, and they were determined to take it, before the arrival of Gen. Lincoln and his forces from the East. In accordance with orders from Head Quarters, Gen. Shepard took possession of the post, with a force of 900 men, and was afterwards re-inforced with 200 more, all from the militia of the County of Hampshire. This army was furnished from the Arsenal with such field pieces and equipments as were necessary. This was the moment for the insurgents. On carrying this point, and gaining possession of the arms deposited there, before the arrival of Gen. Lincoln, was seen to depend everything like a formidable continuance of their operations. A failure undeniably involved the explosion and destruction of the insurrectionary movement. To this point, therefore, the insurgents moved. Day with his 400 men, as has been stated, was already in West Springfield. A force of 400 men, from Berkshire County, under the command of Eli Parsons, had taken a position in the North part of Springfield, in the present town of Chicopee, while Shays, having consolidated his forces at the East, approached the Arsenal on the Boston road. Of all the leaders of the insurrection at this time, Day caaried the boldest and most determined spirit. He instituted martial law on his own account, and stopped and examined all passengers. Two individuals, who submitted to his outrages with reluctance, were badly wounded. The late Hon. Ezra Starkweather of Worthington, in Hampshire County, was imprisoned by him for two or three days. The forces thus at the command of Shays numbered, in the aggregate, 1,900 men, an army nearly twice as large as that under Gen. Shepard, while the large number of old continental soldiers which it contained, gave it an appearance of courage and power which the event proved did not inhere in it.

On the 24th of January, Shays forwarded a message to Day, stating that he proposed to attack Shepard on the next day, and desiring his co-operation. Day immediately returned reply that he could not assist him on the 25th, but would do so on the day following. What induced him to make this reply, it is not easy to determine, but it was probably to gain time to get the general management of affairs into his own hands. His message, by whatever policy dictated, was fortunately intercepted by Gen. Shepard, who thus learned the intentions of both commanders, and made his preparations accordingly. It appears that the messenger, while on his way back to Shays, stopped at the tavern in Springfield to warm himself. He entered the bar room very cold, and exciting the suspicions of a company of young men present, they urged him to drink, and took care to give him a very heavy draught of liquor. In a few minutes, he was snoring in his chair, Day's letter taken from his pocket, and himself placed where there was no danger of his reaching Shays, who, not hearing from Day, took it for granted that he would co-operate with him, while Day, supposing that his message had been safely delivered, commenced the part of dictator which he intended to play, by sending an insolent message to Gen. Shepard, of which the following is a copy:

HEAD QUARTERS, West Springfield,
Jan. 25, 1787.

"The body of the people, assembled in arms, adhering to the first principles of nature — self-preservation — do, in the most peremptory manner, demand:

"1st. That the troops in Springfield lay down their arms.

"2d. That their arms be deposited in the public stores, under the care of the proper officers, to be returned to the owners at the termination of the present contest.

"3d. That the troops return to their homes on parole."

This ridiculously arrogant document was signed by Day, and bore upon the back — "by Col. Eli Parsons." While Day was thus playing king, Shays was playing petitioner. The latter dated his note at Wilbraham, and forwarded it Eastward to Gen. Lincoln, who was, at that time, two days march from Springfield. In this document, Shays stated that, from his unwillingness to being accessory to the shedding of blood, and from his desire for the promotion of peace, he was led to propose that all the insurgents should be indemnified until the next session of the Legislature, when a hearing of the complaints of the people might be had; that the persons arrested by the Government should be released, without punishment, and that these conditions should be confirmed to the people by a proclamation from the Governor. If these conditions should be complied with, he promised that the insurgents should return home, and wait for relief from their burdens, through a constitutional channel. But this petition was doubtless a sham, the object which Shays wished to accomplish being to keep Lincoln back, or induce him to believe that haste was not necessary in his movements, while, without waiting for a reply, he intended to push on his operations. But Gen. Lincoln had seen too much of the rebellion to be easily misled. He deemed Gen. Shepard to be in great danger, and appreciated the importance of the juncture as fully as did the insurgents. The season was very cold, but he crowded on his troops, and, to guard against all possibility of defeat, he despatched an order to Gen. Brooks to march with the Middlesex Militia to Springfield as early as possible.

Shays reached Wilbraham on the evening of the 24th, and quartered his troops upon the inhabitants. But he was among the friends of the Government, and Asaph King, at that time deputy sheriff, Col. Abel King, Dr. Samuel F. Merrick, and Dea. Noah Warriner met, to devise a way of conveying to Gen. Shepard intelligence of the proximity of the force. It was at last decided that the job belonged to the sheriff. On the 25th, Shays moved towards Springfield, when King mounted a splendid young horse that stood saddled in his barn, and started him across the fields, to the "stony hill road." The snow, knee deep to his horse, was covered with a crust, and he was obliged, in some instances, not only to break a path for his horse, but to pull down or leap fences. When he came out upon the road, the legs of his horse were streaming with blood. He was far ahead of Shays, and spurring on, reached the arsenal in forty-five minutes from the time he left Wilbraham. From him, Shepard learned all the particulars which he had not before known, and ascertained that the force of Shays was on the march. Forewarned, though not altogether confident of results, Gen. Shepard made his preparations for the reception of the insurgents, but it was not until four o'clock in the afternoon that Shays and his force, (who had probably delayed their progress in order to hear something from Day) made their appearance upon the Boston road, approaching the arsenal. Determined on not acting with rashness, Gen. Shepard sent out one of his aids, with two other gentlemen, to inquire of Shays his intentions, and to warn him to desist from an attack. The purport of his answer was that he would have possession of the arsenal, and of the barracks. As he continued his approach, Gen. Shepard repeatedly sent messages to him, stating that if he persisted he should assuredly fire upon his troops. To this threat, one of the leaders, standing by, remarked that "that was all they wanted." One of the messengers sent out had been a fellow officer with Shays in the Continental army, and, in his conversation with the rebel, told him that he (the messenger) was engaged in the defense of his country. Shays replied, "then we are on the same side." "We shall take very different parts, I imagine," responded the messenger. Shays sportively rejoined that "the part he should take was the hill on which the arsenal stood." Shays told another messenger that he should lodge in the barracks that night. The messenger replied that if he undertook it, he would lodge in heaven or hell, he did not know which — he hoped it would be heaven. This parleying was rapidly carried on, the insurgents all the time advancing. At last, it became too apparent to Gen. Shepard that blood must be shed, and even then his humanity did not forsake him. He directed a discharge of cannon to their right and left, and then over their heads. The report of these pieces was heard throughout the village, and excited the most intense emotions of pain and apprehension. Horsemen had been traversing the space between Main street and the Hill, to note and report the progress of events. But the insurgents still advanced, with an unbroken front. They had arrived within fifty rods of Shepard's battery, when he ordered his cannon to be discharged upon the center of the column. The smoke rolled up, and exhibited to the Government troops a most pitiable scene of cowardice and confusion. Three of the insurgents lay dead upon the field, and a fourth was mortally wounded. Their names were Ezekiel Root and Ariel Webster of Gill, Jabez Spicer of Leyden, and John Hunter of Shelburne, the latter dying the following day. Breaking up with the cry of "murder," the cowardly host turned in retreat, and an attempt of Shays to display his column was entirely abortive. He had no power to stay his men, and that night they slept at Ludlow, ten miles distant. The humanity that had thus far governed Gen. Shepard did not forsake him in the moment of triumph. He might easily have followed up his great advantage, and cut them down by hundreds, but his object was accomplished. The enemy was routed and terrified, and he, in a moment, saw that the rebellion was no longer formidable. The bodies of the slain were taken to a stable, and there were suffered to lie for several days —until they were stiffly frozen—before they were claimed by friends.

During these proceedings, Day had remained with his corps at West Springfield, entirely inactive, and the report of the cannon had not sufficed to move him. Lincoln's army was still a day's march distant, but was making as rapid progress as possible. The day following his retreat, Shays, perceiving himself altogether too near the path of Lincoln's army, proceeded to Chicopee, to form a junction with the Berkshire insurgents under Eli Parsons, and in this brief march he lost 200 men by desertion. This movement, and the knowledge that Day still remained with his force in West Springfield, gave Gen. Shepard, notwithstanding the cowardly behavior of Shays' men, apprehension that a more serious attack was impending, but the arrival of Gen. Lincoln and his troops, on the 27th, dissipated all fears on that point. Day, in the meantime, had established a guard at the ferry house, and Gen. Lincoln, so soon as he had arrived, and learned the position of affairs, determined on a new line of policy — that of pursuit and aggression. The moment was favorable, and his weary soldiers were put upon the march for West Springfield, while the Hampshire troops, under Gen. Shepard, were sent up the river upon the East side, to prevent a junction of the forces of Shays and Day, and to cut off the retreat of the latter. The army of Gen. Lincoln crossed the river upon the ice. Upon its appearance there, the guard at the ferry house turned out, but, after making an insignificant show of resistance, they fled. The infantry passed up "Shad Lane," while the cavalry, under Major Buffington, a gallant officer of the Revolution, went up the middle of the river, to prevent the crossing of Day's force.

The retreat of Day's guard from the ferry house, and their arrival at his head quarters, was the signal for a general stampede of his frightened troops. The people of the town were no less frightened than the insurgents. In fact, on the day previous to the arrival of Lincoln's army, they had removed their most valuable effects to the localities then known as "Tatham," "Piper" and "Amos Town," and remained there themselves to avoid the consequences of a collision which they deemed inevitable. Day's men made not the slightest show of resistance, but left their bread and their pork and beans baking in the ovens of the inhabitants, and fled by the way of Southampton to Northampton, often casting away all impediments to their progress, and strewing their path with muskets, knapsacks and ammunition. Day and his men did not pause until they had arrived at Northampton, which they reached that night, with the exception of a few who were overtaken and captured by the light horse. Shays heard of the retreat of Day's forces, and then put his own troops in motion for the North, and passing through South Hadley, reached Amherst before the next morning. His forces had now become as reckless as they were frightened. One man, an adjutant in the party, was killed in consequence of the army mistaking its own rear guard for the advance guard of Lincoln's party. They plundered the house of Major

Goodman of South Hadley, of two barrels of rum, his account books and divers articles of household furniture, and stripped the beds, broke the windows, &c. They also broke open the house of Col. Woodbridge, and took such articles as they wished for, and treated other houses in the neighborhood in the same manner. Shays endeavored in vain to prevent these outrages. The party had not long left Chicopee behind them, when Gen. Lincoln and his army were in full pursuit. Before the latter arrived at Amherst, however, Shays had pushed forward, for Pelham, his home, and to those bleak hills Lincoln declined following him. On looking about in Amherst, it was found that most of the male inhabitants had left, to follow the insurgents, and that ten sleigh-loads of provisions from Berkshire had gone forward for their use. An interdict upon the co-operation of the remaining inhabitants was uttered, and then Gen. Lincoln passed over to Hadley, to secure a cover for his chilled and wearied troops. Day had already left Northampton, and, passing through Amherst, had preceded Shays at Pelham. His numbers had decreased from 400 to 240 men.

On the day following Gen. Lincoln's arrival at Hadley, news came in that a small party of Gen. Shepard's men had been captured at Southampton, and that the agents in the capture still remained at that point. The Brookfield volunteers under Col. Baldwin, numbering 50 men, with 100 horse, under Col. Crafts, were dispatched in pursuit, the former in sleighs. This pursuing force were soon on the track of the insurgents, whom they found to consist of 80 men in ten sleighs. They came up with them in the night, at Middlefield. The insurgent force was under the command of Capt. Ludington, of Southampton, and among the Government volunteers was General Tupper, under whom Ludington had acted as corporal in the Revolutionary war. The house in which Ludington was quartered was first surrounded, and General Tupper, without knowing that his old corporal was within, summoned him to surrender. The corporal knew the voice at once, and made but few words before he surrendered. The remainder of the insurgents paraded under arms, but were intimidated by the representation of the number of the government forces, when they laid down their arms, and the conquerors had the pleasure and pride of returning with 59 prisoners, and nine sleigh-loads of provisions, without shedding a drop of blood.

The next day after the dispatch of this expedition, (Jan. 30) General Lincoln sent a letter to Capt. Shays and his associate leaders, of which the following is a copy:

"Whether you are convinced or not, of your error in flying to arms, I am fully persuaded that, before this hour, you must have the fullest conviction upon your own minds that you are not able to execute your original purposes. Your resources are few, your force inconsiderable, and hourly decreasing from the disaffection of your men; you are in a post where you have neither cover nor supplies, and in a situation in which you can neither give aid to your friends, nor discomfort to the supporters of good order and government. Under these circumstances, you cannot hesitate for a moment to disband your deluded followers. If you should not, I must approach and apprehend the most influential characters among you. Should you attempt to fire upon the troops of Government, the consequences must be fatal to many of your men, the least guilty. To prevent bloodshed, you will communicate to your privates, that if they will instantly lay down their arms, surrender themselves to Government, and take and subscribe the oath of allegiance to this Commonwealth, they shall be recommended to the General Court for mercy. If you should either withhold this information from them, or suffer your people to fire upon our approach, you must be answerable for all the ills which may exist in consequence thereof."

To this letter, Shays returned a reply on the same day, as follows:

PELHAM, Jan. 30th, 1787.

"*To Gen. Lincoln, commanding the Government troops at Hadley,*

Sir: The people assembled in arms, from the counties of Middlesex, Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire, taking into serious consideration the purport of the flag just received, return for answer that, however unjustifiable the measures may be which the people have adopted, in having recourse to arms, various circumstances have induced them thereto. We are sensible of the embarrassments the people are under; but that virtue which truly characterizes the citizens of a republican government hath hitherto marked our paths with a degree of innocence; and we wish and trust it will still be the case. At the same time, the people are willing to lay down their arms, on the condition of a general pardon and return to their respective homes, as they are unwilling to stain the land, which we, in the late war, purchased at so dear a rate, with the blood of our brethren and neighbors. Therefore, we pray that hostilities may cease on your part, until our united prayers may be presented to the General Court, and we receive an answer, as a person is gone for that purpose. If this request may be complied with, government shall meet with no resistance from the people, but let each army occupy the post where they now are. "DANIEL SHAYS, *Captain*."

On the next day, three insurgent leaders visited Hadley, bringing a note to Gen. Lincoln, signed by Francis Stone, Daniel Shays and Adam Wheeler, repeating the request made in Shays' note, that, as they had sent a petition to the General Court, hostilities might cease on both sides, until the decision of the Legislature should be known. To this, Gen. Lincoln replied that the request was totally inadmissible, as he had no power to treat in that manner. He again warned the insurgents against maintaining their hostile position, and again threw upon them the responsibility of such evils as might follow the dishonor of his caution.

That the insurgents had become entirely satisfied that their cause was hopeless, was evident alike from their action and the petition which they had forwarded to the Legislature. The latter document was very humble in its terms. They acknowledged their error in having recourse to arms, and not seeking redress in a constitutional way, and prayed that, as the General Court had already shown its appreciation of the causes of uneasiness among the people, by redressing a number of their grievances, they would overlook the mis-step they had taken. They professed a strong desire to prevent the shedding of blood, a calamity which they deemed impending, if a "reconciliation" should not soon take place, and solemnly promised to lay down their arms, and repair to their respective homes, provided a general pardon should be granted. The policy was, undoubtedly, to remain in force while the result of their petition was pending, for the purpose, as well of self-protection, and the protection, particularly, of the officers, as of obtaining advantageous terms. The insurgent force at Pelham, did not, at this time, embrace, by any means, all under arms against the Government. Squads were collected in various quarters. On the 3d of February, a party of twenty horse and 150 troops in sleighs were sent from Worcester to New Braintree, to look after a company of rebels posted there. On seeing the Government party approach, the insurgents left their quarters, and took a position behind a stone wall, from which they fired upon their pursuers, seriously wounding two men. They then turned and escaped by flight.

Upon the dispersion of the insurgents at Springfield, 2,000 of the militia which had been raised to go against them were discharged, as it was supposed that the rebellion would not be formidable thereafter, but, upon their making a stand at Pelham, the Governor, fearful of still further difficulty, issued his orders for 2,600 of the militia in the middle counties to take the field. But this was a useless precaution, for Shays, finding himself and his cause growing weaker every day, determined on a movement which should place his men, in a measure, beyond the temptation of desertion, which the proximity of their comfortable homes, the promise of safety, and their waning fortunes, were so thoroughly calculated to excite. He determined to withdraw from Pelham, and, by a stratagem, to accomplish his purpose without Gen. Lincoln's knowledge. Accordingly, one of his leaders was dispatched to obtain a private interview with an officer of the army, and while the attention of the government troops was attracted by this interview, which occurred on the 3d of February, Shays drew off his entire force from Pelham, and marched to Petersham, in the county of Worcester. News of the motion of Shays' army was brought to Gen. Lincoln at noon, but he supposed the insurgents were only shifting their position. Still, to be ready for anything that might occur, he issued orders to his army to provide themselves with provisions for three days, and be ready to march at a moment's warning. At six o'clock, he received news that convinced him that the insurgents had retired, and at eight his army were on their way in pursuit. The weather was extremely cold, and hardly any part of New England could produce a path more bleak and drear than that which lay before them. At two o'clock the next morning, the army, passing through Shutesbury, had reached New Salem, and here came on a violent snow storm, which, added to the prevailing cold, rendered their march one of extreme suffering. Their only safety lay in keeping up their motion. In the mean time, the insurgents had completed their march, and were snugly quartered upon the inhabitants of Petersham. At nine o'clock in the morning, the advanced guard of light horse entered the town, giving to Shays and his party the first intimation of the approach of the government troops. No surprise could have been more complete. The storminess and coldness of the night, and the long distance of thirty miles which lay between Hadley and Petersham, were considerations that lulled them to a sense of perfect security. They had hardly time to snatch their arms and provisions for a hasty retreat, when the whole of Lincoln's army—cavalry, artillery and infantry—came pouring into the town. The frightened rebels instantly evacuated their houses, and thronged into a back road leading to Athol, scarcely discharging a gun. Gen. Lincoln might have slain them in great numbers, but this was not his policy. He contented himself with routing them, and taking 150 of them prisoners, whom, after administering to them the oath of allegiance, he dismissed, with passports, to their homes. But Shays and the other leaders succeeded in making their escape, with so rapid a movement, that they could not be traced. Two or three days subsequently, he was at Winchester, N. H., with 300 men, and the others fled mostly to that State, Vermont and New York.

The Legislature convened on the very day that Shays marched from Pelham. By adjournment, it should have met four days earlier, but such was the state of popular excitement in the Commonwealth, that a sufficient number of members had not come together. The first business was to listen to the Governor's narrative of events connected with the insurrection, and the measures he had instituted for its suppression. On the next day, a declaration of rebellion was adopted by both houses, as well as an approval of Gen. Lincoln's offer of clemency to all privates and non-commissioned officers among the insurgents, on condition of their surrendering their arms, and subscribing the oath of allegiance as prescribed by the Governor. They also sent an answer to the Governor's speech, entirely approving the measures he had taken, desiring him to continue them, persistently and vigorously, and promising him such support as it was in their province to render. In the fulfillment of this promise, they made an appropriation of £40,000 for the re-imbursement of the money borrowed of the citizens of Boston, and passed a resolve approving of the spirited conduct of Gen. Shepard, in defending the Springfield arsenal. They then took up the petition which had been forwarded by the insurgents from Pelham, and voted that the paper could not be sustained, for sundry reasons. Some of these, as stated, were technical, but the first and most important was that those concerned in the petition were avowedly in arms, and in a state of hostility against the government, a position which they determined to maintain until all should be pardoned. The last reason given was that, if the petition had been a proper one, and properly subscribed by all who desired pardon, their cause had been supported by so many falsehoods that no dependence could be placed on their promises of amendment. On the 6th of February, the Governor communicated to the Legislature the intelligence connected with the routing of the insurgents at Petersham. After some hesitation, in regard to the best policy of procedure, it was decided, in view of the new aspect of affairs, to countermand the order issued by the Governor for raising 2,600 men, and a resolve was passed that an army, not exceeding 1,500 men, should be enlisted to serve four months. They also requested the Governor to issue a proclamation, offering a reward not exceeding £150 for the apprehension of either of the leaders of the rebellion, and to request the Governors of other States to issue similar proclamations. They also took appropriate notice of the action of Gen. Lincoln and his troops, and of their march from Hadley to Petersham, than which a more remarkable one was never performed in America.

The dispersion of the rebels at Petersham served to scatter numbers of them over the Western part of the State, who took frequent occasion to vent, in a small way, the spite which their aggregated impotence had served to engender. While Lincoln was at Petersham, he heard of the gathering of a portion of the fugitives near Northfield, and would have proceeded to that point, but for an express that reached him from General Patterson, of Berkshire County, requiring his presence in that quarter. So, dismissing three companies of artillery, and ordering two regiments to Worcester, he left Petersham with a body of his troops, on the 7th of February, and marched to Amherst the same day, a distance of 25 miles. The next day's march was through old Hadley to Northampton, 8 miles. From this point, they passed in nearly a direct line through Chesterfield, Worthington, Peru, Hinsdale and Dalton, to Pittsfield. In Berkshire County, the insurgents had assembled, during the pursuit of Shays, for the purpose of diverting or dividing the attention of the Government, and with the ulterior object of joining his forces, should they be driven Westward. But the friends of good order in Berkshire would not then tolerate rebellion on their soil. They accordingly volunteered, to the number of 500 men, some of the first men in the County taking their places in the ranks. At the intersection of three roads in the town of West Stockbridge, the insurgents collected, to the number of 150 or 200 men, under one Hubbard, and it became, or appeared, important, to disperse this party before it should grow stronger. To effect this purpose, the volunteers for the Government turned out in a body, and marched for the spot. On the approach of their advanced corps, consisting of thirty-seven infantry, they received a fire from Hubbard's sentries, and the insurgents were instantly drawn up in good order and commanded to fire, but they hesitated. Theodore Sedgwick, subsequently judge of the Supreme Court, appreciating the cause of their apprehension, immediately rode up to them, and addressing them as old acquaintances, directed them to lay down their arms. Many of them complied with his command, while others turned and fled. Eighty-four of them, including Hubbard himself, were taken prisoners, the majority of whom were allowed to take the oath of allegiance, and return home. Two of the insurgents had been wounded by some scattered firing that had taken place. Subsequently, a number collected in the town of Adams, but dispersed on the approach of Gen. Patterson, re-appearing at Williamstown, where they were dispersed in the same manner. These events all transpired before the arrival of Gen. Lincoln's troops in the County, and, together with the continuance of the disposition of the insurgents to embody, were the cause of Gen. Patterson's application for assistance. While Lincoln was on the march, 250 insurgents collected in the town of Lee, to stop the Courts, and were met and opposed by 300 citizens. The two bodies finally entered into an arrangement, the conditions being that the insurgents should disperse, and that the commander of the militia should, in case the insurgents were taken, use his personal endeavors to have them tried within their own County. The rebels were enabled to secure these terms by obtaining a yarn beam from the house of a Mrs. Perry, mounting it as a cannon, and thus deceiving the militia. As soon as the army arrived at Pittsfield, a party were detached in sleighs directly back to the town of Dalton, in pursuit of one Major Wiley, who had a party of insurgents in command, and another body of troops proceeded to Williamstown, to look after the rebels in that quarter. The Dalton company took six prisoners, among whom was Wiley's son, but Wiley himself succeeded in escaping. The Williamstown detachment took fourteen prisoners, and had one of their men wounded in the struggle that attended the capture.

The exasperation that took possession of the baffled leaders of the insurrection, at this juncture, was great. Shays was defeated, and the government army was in Berkshire, which then had become the stronghold of the rebellious movement. The following letter, from one of the leaders whose name has been previously mentioned, will sufficiently illustrate the extreme bitterness which prevailed:—

"BERKSHIRE, February 15, 1787.

"*Friends and fellow sufferers*:—Will you now tamely suffer your arms to be taken from you, your estates to be confiscated, and even swear to support a constitution and form of government, and likewise a code of laws, which common sense and your consciences declare to be iniquitous and cruel? And can you bear to see and hear of the yeomanry of this Commonwealth being patched and cut to pieces by the cruel and merciless tools of tyrannical power, and not resent it *even unto relentless bloodshed?* Would to God I had the *tongue of a ready writer*, that I might impress upon your minds the idea of the obligation you, as citizens of a republican government, are under, to support those rights and privileges that the God of Nature hath entitled you to. Let me now persuade you, by all the sacred ties of friendship, which natural affection inspires the human heart with, immediately to turn out, and assert your rights.

"The first step that I would recommend is to destroy Shepard's army, then proceed to the County of Berkshire, as we are now collecting at New Lebanon, in York State, and Pownal, in Vermont State, with a determination to carry our point, *if fire, blood and carnage will effect it.* Therefore, we beg that every friend will immediately proceed to the County of Berkshire, and help us to *Burgoyne* Lincoln and his army. I beg this may immediately circulate through your County.

"I am, gentlemen, in behalf of myself and other officers,
Your humble servant, ELI PARSONS."

On the 16th of February, the Legislature closed its deliberations in regard to the political disqualifications which should be the conditions of indemnity to the insurgents. It was a subject of immense importance to the State, and called for the exercise of the most judicious counsels. The conditions instituted were, "that the offenders, having laid down their arms, and taken the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth, should keep the peace for three years, and, during that term, should not serve as jurors, be eligible to any town office, or any other office under the government, should not hold or exercise the employment of school masters, innkeepers, or retailers of spirituous liquors, or give their votes for the same term of time for any officer, civil or military, within the Commonwealth, unless they should, after the 1st day of May, 1788, exhibit plenary evidence of their having returned to their allegiance and kept the peace, and of their possessing such an unequivocal attachment to the Government, as should appear to the General Court a sufficient ground to discharge them from all or any of these disqualifications." To such of the privates among the rebels as had taken up arms on the side of the Government before the 1st of February, the Governor was empowered to extend the release of any or all of these conditions, as also to certain others designated, while those absolutely excepted from the indemnity were—"such as were not citizens of the State, such as had been members of any General Court in the State, or of any State or County Convention, or had been employed in any commissioned office, civil or military; such as, after delivering up their arms, and taking the oath of allegiance during the rebellion, had again taken and borne arms against the Government; such as had fired upon, or wounded, any of the loyal subjects of the Commonwealth; such as had acted as committees, counsellors or advisers to the rebels; and such as, in former years, had been in arms against the Government in the capacity of commissioned officers, and were afterwards pardoned and had been concerned in the rebellion." The law appeared stringent to the advocates of lenient measures in the House, and, had it not appeared that the rebels were still malignantly pursuing their measures in the Western part of the State, to such an extent as to shame the faces and shut the mouths of their friends and advocates, it would have been carried in that branch of the Legislature with much difficulty.

A few days after the insurgents were routed at Petersham, Gen. Shepard took his position at Northfield, a point lying so near to the adjoining line of New Hampshire as to be desirable to the rebels. From this place, on the 16th of February, he dispatched Capt. Samuel Buffington, with a company of horse, for the purpose of apprehending certain refugees abiding in Vermont. Having procured a warrant from a Vermont magistrate, they undertook their work, but they found the Vermonters opposed to them, and so far sympathetic with the refugees, as to render it impossible to prosecute the pursuit, when they returned to Northfield. On the evening of the same day, a small party was dispatched to Bernardston, for the purpose of arresting Capt. Jacob Parmenter, a leader of the rebels. One of the Government party was Jacob Walker of Whately, and, unfortunately for him, Parmenter was overtaken in the Eastern part of Bernardston, accompanied by two others, riding in a sleigh. The sleighs of the respective parties unexpectedly came in collision with each other, when Parmenter hailed the other party, and receiving no answer, ordered his men to fire. This they essayed to do, but their priming was wet, and their guns unserviceable. Instantly Parmenter and Walker raised their guns, took deliberate aim at each other, and fired simultaneously, when Walker fell, with a mortal wound. Parmenter and his associates escaped unharmed, but they were captured the next day, in Vermont, and secured in the jail at Northampton.

On the 26th of February, a large body of insurgents under Capt. Hamlin, entered Berkshire County from the State of New York, and proceeded to the town of Stockbridge, arriving there on the morning of the 27th. Halting at a house kept by Mrs. Bingham, they divided themselves into parties, for the purpose of pillaging the village. One of these parties found Jahleel Woodbridge in bed, made him captive, and plundered the house of all its valuables. Entering the house of Deacon Ingersoll, they found the good man at prayer. Mrs. Ingersoll, understanding the weak points of the mob, went to the door and handed them a bottle of brandy, with which they contentedly marched off. Ira Seymour was a character peculiarly offensive to them, and several houses were passed in their anxiety to reach him, but he escaped, though without shoes to protect his feet from the snow. From Capt. Jones, they stole a large quantity of "military stores," and, what he esteemed more highly than aught else, and never recovered, a belt of wampum, given him by the Indians, in token of friendship. They also took, as prisoners, him and his sons Josiah and William, an old negro woman who was laboring in the family, and the hired man, who at once declared himself to be a Shays man, and ready and anxious to join the insurgents, but he was not believed, and was driven off with the others. Passing to the house of Dr. Sergeant, they broke open the chamber of Mercy Scott, a seamstress, and stole her silver shoe-buckles. They then secured Dr. S., two medical students of the name of Hopkins and Catlin, and Dr. Partridge, Moses Lynch and a hired man, and marched them off as prisoners. They then proceeded to the house of Gen. Ashley, and took him. One band entered the store of a Mr. Edwards to get spirituous liquors. From the office of Theodore Sedgwick, they took Ephraim Williams and Henry Hopkins prisoners, and stole a quantity of linen from the drawers. At the house of Mr. Sedgwick, they met with their match. They found there Elizabeth Freeman, popularly known as "Mum Bett," a woman of color. She armed herself with the kitchen fire-shovel, and escorted the gentlemen over the house and into the cellar, forbidding all wanton destruction of property, under penalty of a blow from the shovel. On reaching her own chest, in which she had secreted the family silver, the robbers asked her what it contained.

"Oh, you had better search *that*," she replied, "an old nigger's chest!" And thus she succeeded in shaming them out of it. One of the robbers stole Mr. Sedgwick's horse, a favorite of "Mum Bett," but after mounting him was thrown to the ground. Bett seized the horse, and giving him a furious blow, supposed she had sent him beyond the reach of the thievish clan, but he was retaken by them, and never returned. At the house of Asa Bement, Jr., they were very violent, and fired upon a boy who endeavored to escape on horseback, with a white paper in his hat. The boy leaped from the horse, and escaped to the house of the elder Mr. Bement, but before the scoundrels could reach that house, they were recalled in order to commence their march.

When the prisoners had been brought in, they were paraded in front of a locality now occupied by the new grave-yard. At this moment, Nathaniel Lynch, Asa Bement, Jr., George Kirkland and Ned Monday, a colored man, rode up, threatened to fire upon the robbers, and accordingly discharged their pieces. They were immediately pursued. Kirkland's horse leaped the fence, and carried his rider to the house of a Mr. Tucker. He was met at the door by a young woman who told him that there was a Shays man within. The Shays man proved to be a German soldier, known as "Little Pete," and belonging in West Stockbridge. Rushing out, he seized Kirkland's horse by the bridle, and, pointing a pistol at his breast, ordered him to surrender. There was no resisting such an argument, and Kirkland was led back, into the line of prisoners. Little Pete mounted his horse, and, content with his share in the spoils, struck a fast gait for Vermont or Canada, from whence he did not return for twenty years. Lynch and Bement were pursued to a swamp, and fired upon, but not injured. A portion of Hamlin's party had become so drunk as to be unable to proceed, but the remainder, after sending Gen. Ashley, whom Hamlin had recognized as a fellow officer in the Revolution, back to his home, marched with their prisoners for Great Barrington. In the meantime, messengers had gone in every direction, announcing the presence of the insurgents.

On reaching Great Barrington, Hamlin's party stopped for liquor at the house of a Mr. Bement, and then they called upon Mrs. Bement to show them the jail, which was attached to the house, in order, as they said, to see if it was strong enough to hold their prisoners, when they should get ready to store them there. There was but one way for the lady, who went around, unlocking the cells, and singing with charming unconcern and mischievous pleasantry:

"Ye living men come view the ground,
Where you must shortly lie!"

The debtors in the jail were all released, but, as the people of the town had taken the alarm, and information of their approach had been forwarded to Sheffield, there was little chance for plunder, and the robbers began to take measures for their safety.

The militia of Sheffield had been collected under Lieut. Goodrich, and were joined by a company from Great Barrington, raising the whole number to 80 men. A report was then received, that the insurgents were beating a retreat through Egremont to New York, when the Government party, under the command of Col. John Ashley, took a back road, and, in their sleighs, drove for the residence of Francis Hare Jr., in Egremont. They had not proceeded far, when they found that the insurgents were in the rear in pursuit. A halt was made, the sleighs drawn aside, and the party, amid considerable confusion, attempted to form. Lieut. Goodrich then took his Sheffield company through a lot of girdled trees on the West side of the road, while Capt. Ingersoll, with the Great Barrington company, advanced through a wood on the Eastern side, engaging in a scattering fire during their progress, being first fired upon by the insurgents. Quite a hot engagement of a few brief minutes ensued, when the rebels turned in flight. Other parties of government forces soon came in, one being from Lenox, under Capt. William Walker. A number of prisoners, variously stated, from 25 to 60, were taken. Col. Ashley, in his official dispatch to Gen. Lincoln, gives the former number, while Minot multiplies the number by two. Thirty of the insurgents were wounded, among whom was Hamlin himself. Two were killed outright, and a third, one Rathbun, died some time afterwards of his wounds. In the melee, Solomon Gleazen, the village schoolmaster of Stockbridge, one of Hamlin's prisoners, was shot dead.

A Mr. Porter, of the Great Barrington militia, was shot dead, and carried home to his wife before she was aware of his fall. Dr. Burghardt of Richmond was wounded. After securing the prisoners, and ordering those members of the Stockbridge militia, who had been released from captivity by Hamlin's flight, into the ranks, a council of war was held, and the troops marched from the field. The prisoners were first taken to Great Barrington, but the jail was not large enough to hold them, and they were taken to Lenox, under an escort of a line of sleighs a mile in length, and with such demonstrations of mock pomp, and grotesque hilarity as the occasion was calculated to inspire. Half an hour previous to the action, Hamlin paroled a number of his prisoners, on the condition that they should proceed to Egremont, under an insignificant guard of four men. These were relieved by a party of horse, and sent back to their homes.

The plunder of Stockbridge by the insurgents under Hamlin, was the last important demonstration made during the rebellion, and the action that took place between them and the volunteers under Col. Ashley was, in fact, the only fight that occurred from first to last. It was the first and only instance in which a considerable body of the rebels exhibited the slightest courage, and, from the quantity of liquor they had stolen and drunk during the day, it is not uncharitable to suppose that their ephemeral bravery was more properly attributable to artificial excitement than genuine courage. The insurrection had now degenerated into nothing better than a wholesale system of robbery, which no decent man, and no man holding the smallest stake in the peace and good order of the community, could apologize for, or attempt to justify.

It will have been noticed that this band came from New York, as, also, that upon the dispersion of the rebels at Petersham, they fled to adjoining States. In those States, they were not content with finding a refuge from pursuit, and an opportunity for revenging themselves by passing over the border, as occasion permitted, and committing their outrages in Massachusetts, but they sought to diffuse their seditious principles among those who afforded them a shelter. Already a spirit of insurrection had appeared in several of the adjacent States. So wide was this spirit in its power and prevalence, and so strongly was the movement in Massachusetts regarded as the central and decisive field of operations, that "Hurra for Shays!" was as familiar a watchword in Connecticut, Vermont and New Hampshire, as in Western Massachusetts. The safety which the rebel refugees enjoyed, in their retreats beyond the lines of home jurisdiction, presented a difficulty which the General Court sought to obviate, by requesting the Governor to write to the Governors of the neighboring States, asking them to take measures for the apprehension of the rebels, and for preventing them from the acquisition of supplies. The States applied to were, for reasons rather to be strongly suspected than boldly asserted, very slow and tame in their responses. Rhode Island responded first, and, after promising what was desired, contented herself with allowing the refugees to roam throughout the State at their will. The Governor of Connecticut promised aid, issued a proclamation offering a reward for the apprehension of the rebels, and, assisted by a resolution of the Legislature of that State, showed his sincerity by his works. New Hampshire acted honorably and efficiently.

After the news of the Stockbridge incursion reached the Legislature, that body requested the Governor to write again to the Governor of New York, from whom, as well as from the Governor of Vermont, no reply had been received, urging him to take measures for the apprehension of such rebels as had taken refuge in that State, founding his plea for such action on the articles of confederation literally interpreted. Unknown to the General Court, Gen. Lincoln had anticipated their action, and immediately after the Stockbridge demonstration, sent a dispatch to the Governor of New York, giving the origin and history of that event. The New York Legislature was then in session, and, after listening to the communication, resolved to recommend it to the Governor to repair to the spot where the insurgents might be, call out the militia to his support, and to take all necessary measures for the apprehension of such insurgents as might be found within the bounds of the State. The Governor immediately issued orders for raising a brigade and three regiments of militia, to hold themselves ready for motion at a moment's warning, and took his measures with such promptness and efficiency, that the refugees were obliged to flee to Vermont, the only adjoining State that was not, nominally, at least, shut against them. A singular incident was connected with the flight which the insurgents found it necessary to make from New York. On the 3d of March, Levi Bullock of Lanesborough, a young man, and one of those engaged in plundering Stockbridge, returned home. He was so fearful of apprehension that he dared not show himself, except to a boy named Thomas Mayo, whom he persuaded to go out with him and lodge in what is popularly called a "potato hole"—a place dug out for the storage of vegetables in the winter. They took a bed, and a small pot of live coals. Closing the entrance to their cave, and lying down upon their bed, they were both found dead the following day.

Finally, Vermont, after wavering for some time in the fear of stirring up rebellion at home, where the popular feeling was strongly sympathetic with the Massachusetts insurgents, came into the line of judicious and neighborly policy, and, on the 27th of February, the Governor issued his proclamation for the apprehension of the rebels; and in communicating the same to the Governor of Massachusetts, he assured him of his co-operation in the measures instituted for checking the intestine broils in the sister Commonwealth. The Legislature of Pennsylvania also showed a generous compliance with the Governor's request, and made an addition to the reward offered by him for the apprehension of the leaders of the rebellion.

Thus, measures having been effectually taken to subdue and keep under subjection the rebellion within the State, and to place it under ban in the adjacent jurisdictions, the Legislature turned its attention to the trial of those already in the custody of the law. It was decided that the Supreme Judicial Court should hold a special session in each of the disaffected Counties of Berkshire, Hampshire and Middlesex, leaving the Court to hold its regular session in Worcester, on the last Tuesday in April. A law was enacted at the same time, excluding from juries those who had in any manner been guilty of favoring the rebellion, with the provision that a subsequent vote of the town might restore their names to the jury box. But this law was not of very generally operative application, for, in some towns, the sympathy in favor of the rebellion had been so pervasive that hardly a sufficient number of men was left to fill the necessary town offices. This state of things called for a legislative remedy, and it was instituted by the appointment of three Commissioners, who were empowered to grant indemnity to all who had been concerned in the rebellion in that indirect manner that placed them beyond the cover of the act of indemnity, on their subscribing the oath of allegiance, and furnishing satisfactory evidence of their return to faithful citizenship. This indemnity was to be granted with the remission of any or all of the conditional disqualifications attached to the general act of indemnity. The Commissioners were also authorized to remit the disqualifying conditions to those who had taken the benefit of the act of indemnity, provided that satisfactory evidence of their repentance and amendment should be adduced, excluding, however, from their protection, Daniel Shays, Luke Day, Eli Parsons and Adam Wheeler, all those persons who had fired upon or killed citizens in the peace of the Commonwealth, with the commander of their party; and, also, the members of the rebel Council of War, and all those against whom the Governor and Council had issued a warrant, unless liberated on bail. The Commission consisted of Gen. Lincoln, Samuel Phillips, Jr., President of the Senate, and Samuel Allyne Otis, Speaker of the House of Representatives. In order to protect the places of trust from feigned converts to the Government, a resolution was passed, directing that Selectmen and other town officers should take and subscribe the oath of allegiance.

While providing thus, in the most judicious manner, for the trial of the principal criminals, and for restoring the masses that had been in rebellion to relations of peace with the Commonwealth, the Legislature did not forget to continue the reformatory progress it had commenced at the previous session. It reduced the number of terms of holding the sessions of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, enacted a new fee-bill considerably diminishing the fees of attorneys and public officers, and appointed a committee to inquire whether there were any real public grievances under which the people suffered. This Committee reported three, viz:—"That suitable provision had not been made for the seasonable and punctual payment of the interest due on public securities;" "that the Treasurer had not been laid under greater restrictions with regard to the drawing of orders," and "That the salary established by law for the support of the first Magistrate of the Commonwealth, was higher than was reasonable."

A bill was passed for the redress of this latter grievance, reducing the Governor's salary from £1,100 to £800. This bill the Governor returned with objections, based on Constitutional provisions, stating, in connection, that, although his expenditures far exceeded his income, he would consent to the reduction so far as he was personally concerned, but it was neither in his power, nor in consonance with his inclination, to diminish or render precarious the salary of his successors. The necessary two-thirds of the Legislature could not be obtained for over-riding the veto, and the measure consequently fell to the ground. The Legislature was then, on the 10th of March, prorogued to the ensuing annual election.

The Commission for granting indemnity to persons concerned in the rebellion went busily to work, and not less than 790 persons availed themselves of its offices. In the meantime, the trials of those under arrest came on in Berkshire, Hampshire, Worcester and Middlesex. These trials, of course, excited the widest popular attention and interest. The Supreme Judicial Court, sitting in Great Barrington, for the County of Berkshire, found six persons guilty of high treason, and condemned them to death, viz: Samuel Rust of Pittsfield, Peter Williams, Jr., of Lee, Nathaniel Austin of Sheffield, Aaron Knap of West Stockbridge, Enoch Tyler of Egremont, and Joseph Williams of New Marlboro. The following were sentenced to various grades of punishment for seditious words and practices: William Whiting of Great Barrington—£100 fine, imprisonment for seven months, and recognizance in the sum of £300 to keep the peace for five years; John Deming of West Stockbridge—a fine of £60, and recognizance in £100 to keep the peace for three years; John Hubbard of Sheffield—a fine of £100 and recognizance in £200 to keep the peace for four years; Daniel Sackett of Pittsfield—a fine of £60, and recognizance in £100 to keep the peace for three years. Six were also convicted at the

Court held in Northampton, and condemned to death, viz: Jason Parmenter of Bernardston, Daniel Ludington of Southampton, Alpheus Colton of Longmeadow, James White of Colerain, John Wheeler of Hardwick, and Henry McCulloch of Pelham. Those convicted of treasonable words and practices, and sentenced to lower grades of punishment were: Joseph Jones—(his crime being an assault upon and firing a pistol at the Deputy Sheriff in the execution of his office,) one hour on the gallows, and recognizance in £80 to keep the peace for two years; Silas Hamilton, Esq., of Whitingham, Vt., (for stirring up sedition in this Commonwealth,) to stand one hour in the pillory, and be publicly whipped on the naked back with twenty stripes; Moses Harvey, a fine of £50, to sit on the gallows with a rope around his neck for one hour, and recognizance in £200 to keep the peace for five years; John Severance, a fine of £30 and recognizance in £100 to keep the peace for three years; Abner Fowler, a fine of £50, imprisonment for twelve months, and bonds to keep the peace for five years; Thomas Killam—a fine of £20, and recognizance in £50 to keep the peace for three years; and Samuel Rose, an hour in the pillory, and a public whipping, with twenty stripes.

Henry Gale of Princeton was tried and condemned to death in Worcester, and Job Shattuck of Groton, at Concord. Fourteen individuals were thus under sentence of death for leadership and acts of criminal violence in the rebellion, and a large number under milder sentences, for acting minor parts in the same revolt. One convict, (Moses Harvey) a member of the House of Representatives, who was sentenced to an hour's occupation of the gallows with a rope around his neck, the payment of a fine of £50 and bonds to keep the peace and be of good behavior for five years, received his punishment, and this sentence, as will hereafter be seen, was the only one, of all those pronounced, that was ever executed.

The movements of the insurgents during this time, and subsequently, were not particularly note-worthy. One night, towards the last of April, some twenty-five insurgents assembled under arms on the West side of the river at Northfield, and beat their drums and fired their guns. They were, probably, a company who had come down from

Vermont and New Hampshire to reconnoiter, and they quickly fled before the troops stationed there, under Gen. Shepard. Among the last days of May, Capt. Bingham of Partridgefield was arrested for his participation in the rebellion, and committed to jail in Northampton. About the same time, four men engaged in sowing seditious sentiments in Connecticut were taken into custody by the authorities of that State, in accordance with the proclamation of the Governor and the action of the Legislature. On the 29th of the same month, Lieut. Bullard of Orange was arrested in Swanzey, N. H., while enlisting men for Shays, and committed to jail in Northampton, with two accomplices. At a later date, three guns were discharged upon the dwelling house of Joshua Healey of Chesterfield, the balls entering the house. This was in consequence of Mr Healey's commencement of a suit for damages, previously inflicted by the insurgents. Still, the insurgents were busy. Their leaders, they saw, were under the extremest sentence of the law, and although they could not hope to succeed in their schemes of rebellion, they were extremely anxious to rescue the convicts from the punishment to which they were sentenced. They threatened and bullied, and declared that their predatory incursions were only preliminary to a general invasion. Some of them even went to Canada to solicit the aid of that Government, but without success. In the meantime, the Governor and Council, in the exercise of that remarkable lenity that had ever marked their policy, on the 30th of April extended a free pardon to eight of those sentenced to death in the Western Counties, leaving only two to be hung in each County, and these were to be hung in the latter part of May. Preparations were accordingly made at the proper time for their execution. Gen. Shepard moved down from Northfield to Northampton with his troops, to protect the officers of the law in the execution of their duty. A gallows had been erected, and all the preparations made for the solemn event. When all was ready, and it had been demonstrated to those who had declared that these convicts should not be hung, that the Government was abundantly able to carry out the execution of the laws, the Sheriff opened a reprieve of the sentence to the 21st of June following, which had been granted by the Governor on the 17th of May, and read it to the assembled multitude. Yet, notwithstanding the lenient course pursued by the Government, the malignant remnants of the broken rebellion still took occasion to vent their spite. Scarcely had Gen. Shepard with his troops left Northfield to attend the execution, when a party of rebel officers, with a number of the inhabitants of New Hampshire, under the command of Col. Smith of New Salem, proceeded to Warwick, and made Dr. Medad Pomeroy and Joseph Metcalf prisoners. These were both highly respectable and well known men, and a paper left in the house of Dr. Pomeroy stated that they were to be reserved as hostages to secure the lives of Jason Parmenter and Henry McCulloch, then under sentence of death. The paper declared that if those two convicts should be executed, the prisoners should also be put to death. Both were, however, soon afterwards allowed to escape, probably in consequence of the fact that the convicts had been reprieved, though the consciousness that they would find it difficult to hold them doubtless had its effect.

The Governor was unexpectedly called upon, by the death of the Treasurer of the Commonwealth, to call the Legislature together again—making the fourth session of the year. This was subsequent to the annual election which had resulted in removing Gov. Bowdoin from the Chief Magistracy, and bestowing that office upon John Hancock, and in such changes in the Legislature as showed that the rebellion had been more widely sympathized in than the Government had ever dreamed. On meeting for the last time the out-going Legislature, Gov. Bowdoin expressed his gratification that he was about to retire from office, and nobly declared that he should have expressed his wish for retirement earlier, could he have done it without the imputation of deserting the people while their affairs were in a critical situation. In taking his leave of the Court, he conferred his best wishes upon the Commonwealth, and expressed the hope "that the people might have just ideas of liberty, and not lose it in licentiousness, and in despotism, its natural consequence." During the session of the Court, the Commissioners for granting pardon to offenders made their report, in which they declared that, beyond the obvious and well known causes of the rebellion, a delusion in regard to the action and position of the

General Court had been a powerful cause in sowing discord and discontent, and that this delusion had, in too many instances, been excited and fostered by the members of the General Court themselves. For this, the General Court were disposed to make amends; and before they rose, they passed a reply to the Governor's address, in which they accorded to him the warmest praise for the measures he had adopted, declared their sincere confidence in his character, expressed regret for his retirement from office, and gave utterance to their wish that he might receive from a grateful people those marks of affection and esteem which were the proper reward for his services and merits.

The rebels and their sympathizers had now a Governor and Legislature of their own choosing, but that Governor and that Legislature, in their very first acts, set aside the most unjust verdict which the people had rendered against Gov. Bowdoin, and endorsed his conduct by following his policy. Gov. Hancock, in his opening speech from the chair, communicated the intelligence of the incursions that had been made, and submitted whether it would not be absolutely necessary to continue in service the troops then stationed in Hampshire and Berkshire, so long as it might be judged necessary to secure safety and tranquillity to those counties. The Committee on the Governor's Message reported a resolution requesting him to raise 800 men for the protection of the Western Counties, to continue in service for six months, unless discharged earlier. The Senate assented to this, but, after the House had debated it, they sent down an order for the appointment of a Committee to consider the expediency of repealing the act of disqualifications (under certain restrictions) to those who, within a specified time, should take the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth. In the subsequent debates in the House, the feeling of a portion of the members became discoverable in their wish that the indemnity should be indiscriminate and entire. The final decision was, that not less than 500 nor more than 800 men should be raised for the Western Counties, and that, with the exception of nine persons, all who would take and subscribe the oath of allegiance before the 12th day of the ensuing September, should be pardoned. In the House, the measure for a general pardon was decided in the negative by a vote of 120 to 94. Thus did the Governor and the Legislature condemn the policy and the sentiments which had placed them in office, and thus did they indorse and confirm the policy of Gov. Bowdoin.

Still, it was necessary that the new Legislature should do something to justify the grounds on which it was elected. So, while, in every important particular, they endorsed the acts of the previous administration, they took such occasion as they could, to cast blame and dishonor upon it. The bill for suspending the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus, passed by the previous Legislature, was to expire by the limitation of its own provisions, on the first of July; yet, on the 14th of June, a Committee was raised to bring in a bill for the repeal of the offensive law. The motives that led to this action are too evident to call for statement, or admit of apology. The repeal could hardly have been carried through its various stages before the law would have expired of itself. It is not wonderful that the project should afterwards have miscarried, and that its advocates should have become so heartily ashamed of it as openly to renounce it. The Legislature then turned its eye to the execution of those reforms that had been called for by the people, the prominent one being the reduction of the salary of the Governor. In the election which had placed the noble Hancock in office, the unwillingness of Gov. Bowdoin to have his salary reduced was made the most of, in the electioneering efforts instituted to prejudice the people against him. At the commencement of the agitation of this subject, Gov. Hancock sent in a message, voluntarily offering £300 of his salary for the benefit of the State, at the same time expressing the hope that when the finances of the State should arrive at a better condition, his action might not operate to the prejudice of any of his successors, nor be considered as anything else than a personal contribution for the relief of the burdens of the people. The Legislature accepted the donation, praised the Governor, declared their intention at some future time to consider the constitutionality of reducing the Governor's salary, of which his predecessor had expressed doubts, and dropped the subject. Thus again did the Governor and the Legislature indorse and confirm the policy and principles of Gov. Bowdoin and the previous General

Court. They then indorsed and continued the tender act passed by their predecessors, condemned, like them, the project of an issue of paper money, complied with the usual conditions of coercive measures for the suppression of the rebellion, and voted supplies for the troops. That their proceedings were watched with intense interest by their constituents may readily be imagined. Such a rebuke to the prejudices of a popular constituency has no parallel in the legislation of the State. The policy of the previous administration was triumphantly vindicated, by the very men chosen to modify or overthrow it, and the last blow given to one of the most disgraceful rebellions that ever stained the annals of a free Commonwealth. It should be added that, previous to the close of the session, the Legislature took appropriate notice of the friendly acts of the Governments of the adjoining States, in assisting in the suppression of the rebellion, and requested the Governor to gain permission to march the troops of Massachusetts into those States for the purpose of destroying or conquering the rebels if necessary; and they declared that no further acts of clemency could be passed for the benefit of those who might be in arms against the Commonwealth, consisting with the dignity of the State, and the safety and protection of its citizens.

The great sea of rebellion that had so recently been at high tide, had now receded to low ebb. Only pitiful bands of marauders hung upon the borders of the State, the prime leaders of the rebellion were in concealed exile, the mob-elected Legislature had declared a conservative policy, a new army had taken the field, and the Commonwealth was entirely safe. It thus became a matter of serious consideration with the Governor and Council, whether the sentence of the law should be visited upon the convicts, all of whom had played secondary parts in the insurrectionary movement. The Governor finally concluded to grant a second reprieve to the convicts until the 2d of August, thus holding them as hostages for the good behavior of the remaining malcontents. Subsequently, a reprieve was granted to the 20th of September, when all received a full pardon, save one in Berkshire, who was convicted in the previous October, and whose sentence was commuted to hard labor for seven years, his two companions in the

Berkshire jail having, in the meantime, escaped from confinement.

But, as if the approval of the measures which had been instituted for the suppression of the rebellion by the administration of Governor Bowdoin, on the part of its successor, was not sufficient, the rebels themselves brought in their testimony, with penitence and promise on their lips, and doubtless in their hearts. At last, Shays and Parsons sent in a petition for pardon. They declared the entertainment of a penitent sense of their errors, and pleaded in their own behalf the hardships which had come upon them in consequence of their conduct. While extenuating, they did not presume to justify their course, a course which they should never cease to regret. They urged as motives for their pardon the multiplied misfortunes that had befallen them, and the sufferings of their innocent families.

On the 13th of August, the State had become so quiet that the Governor reduced the number of troops in service to 200, and on the 12th of September he discharged the remainder, thus declaring the entire reduction of the insurrection, and the restoration of peace and safety to the Commonwealth. On the 13th of June, 1788, the Legislature adopted a resolution, justifying all officers and others who had apprehended persons engaged in the use of the property of others, such as quartering insurrectionary troops in houses, &c., for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion, and indemnifying jailors and sheriffs from whom prisoners had escaped, or who had been prevented from fulfilling the legitimate duties of their office by the rebellion. They then closed up legislation upon the subject by indemnifying *all* who had been engaged in the rebellion, and not convicted, except against private suits for damages done to individuals, on condition of their taking and subscribing the oath of allegiance within six months from the passage of the act, save the nine persons excepted from the act of indemnity passed just a year previously, whose pardon was qualified with the condition that they should never hold any office, civil or military, within the Commonwealth. This act called back the exiles to their homes, who had long previously returned to their senses, and the rebellion became history, and a lesson in Government which may never be forgotten.

CHAPTER XVIII

SKETCHES OF SHAYS AND DAY — COMMENTS ON AND INCIDENTS OF THE REBELLION.

It will not be inappropriate, before briefly commenting on the remarkable insurrection whose leading events have been narrated, to pass in review the character and history of the two men who were its leading spirits, viz.: Daniel Shays and Luke Day. Daniel Shays was born in Hopkinton, in the County of Middlesex, in the year 1747. An old gentleman still living, and retaining a vivid recollection of his youth, says that the parents of Shays were very poor, so poor, in fact, as, in some instances, to have depended upon their neighbors for the necessaries of life. When young, he worked for a farmer in Framingham, and the necessities which poverty forced upon him prevented him from the acquisition of even a respectable education. Previous to the commencement of the Revolutionary war, he became a resident of Great Barrington, but, having remained there a short time, he removed to Pelham, which became his home and the scene of many of his movements connected with the rebellion with which he has associated his name. He had arrived at the age of twenty-eight, when, on the breaking out of the war of the Revolution, he entered the service of his country, with the rank of ensign. He was plausible, ambitious, of good address and appearance, and possessed undoubted courage, but, with all these qualities, he lacked that essential element in a worthy and symmetrical character—principle. In 1776, he was appointed a Lieutenant, in Col. Varnum's regiment, and, doubtless, owing to his gallant carriage and pleasant address, was detached on recruiting service, with the promise of an appropriate reward for enlisting twenty men. He came to Massachusetts, and abundantly succeeded. But he was as ambitious of rank as of money, and his easy success in this enterprise, suggested a plan for carrying out his projects for self-advancement, which he proceeded to put in practice. He went again into the recruiting service, and enlisted a handsome company, whose engagement to serve was based on the condition that he should be their Captain. He took his company to West Point, and when the men were about to be apportioned to the various corps where they were needed, the terms of their enlistment were made known. The leading officers indignantly remonstrated, but the army was suffering for men, and they felt themselves obliged to pocket the indignity, and yield to his most unsoldierlike demands. A Captain's Commission was promised him, but it was not issued until 1779, though he was allowed the pay of a Captain from January, 1777. He was in Col. Putnam's regiment at Newark, N. J., when, in October, 1780, he was discharged from service.

To a mind in the slightest degree sensitive to motives of honor, the means he instituted to effect his promotion, and the position which he consequently held in the army, would have been distasteful even to disgust, and an anecdote of a remarkable character is preserved which shows still more fully, perhaps, how entirely he was lacking in those nicer sensibilities which mark a high nature and a noble man. In the year 1780, Gen. Lafayette made to each of the officers under his immediate command the present of a sword. Instead of prizing the gift as one above all price—as something to be handed down in his family as a proud momento of a noble struggle and a noble man, he took his gift and sold it for a few paltry dollars. But Shays was brave, nevertheless. At the battle of Bunker Hill, at the storming of Stony Point and the capture of Burgoyne, he did gallant and unflinching service, and carried to his grave an honorable scar received in fighting the battles of his country. Notwithstanding his bravery, it may readily be seen why Shays did not retire from the army with an honorable name, and as he was bankrupt in fortune, like nearly all of the officers who had been in service, as well as unfitted for the peaceful pursuits of industry, he was ready to embark in any congenial enterprise for retrieving his fortunes, or brightening his prospects. The seditious spirit that seized a portion of the people of Massachusetts at the close of the Revolution, found in him a tool subservient to its ends. He played desperately, for a desperate stake, and lost. Of the motives that induced him to take the leadership of the rebellion, Shays gave his own account after his return from exile, to a young clergyman whom he found in occupation of the pulpit in Pelham at that time. This clergyman, one Sabbath morning, noticed the entrance into the church of a gentleman of a somewhat distinguished bearing, and straightway every eye was on him, and every pew-door was opened to give him a seat. At the close of the service, he learned the name of his hearer, who had just returned to his home with the pardon of the Government. On the following day, Shays called on the clergyman, and held a long conversation with him upon his labors and his sufferings. He declared to him that he had been entirely deceived in regard to the feelings of the people on the subject of rebellion against the Government. He said that he was assured that if he would collect one hundred men, and march in any direction, multitudes would flock to his standard, but he found to his extreme chagrin that he produced but little sensation, and that few comparatively joined his forces and fortunes. That he would have forsaken his project in mid-passage, could he have done it with the assurance of personal safety, has already been shown in his reply to a confidential officer of the Government, who put the question to him.

Of the military genius of Shays, perhaps enough has already been written in the history of his bungling movements. He had absolutely no qualifications for high military command. His soldiers, whom it is charity to suppose were made cowards by the consciousness of being engaged in a bad cause, rather than from moral infirmity, neither respected nor feared him. According to his own confessions he had but little authority in his army. On one occasion, he thought it necessary, in order to preserve the appearance of a military organization, to command a man to stand guard. "No, I won't," replied the independent individual addressed. "Let that man, (pointing to another) he is not so sick as I am." But the other man refused in the same decided manner, and desired the "commander-in-chief" to fix upon some one who was stronger. No man can fail to see, in these brief incidents of his life, that while he had no lack of personal bravery, he was, so far as the rebellion was concerned, an adventurer,—glad to lead it while it promised success; anxious to leave it when he found success doubtful. He was bound to the insurrectionary movement by no tie of principle, no active conviction of right, no controlling motive of love for the public good. Strictly speaking, Shays was not a demagogue, but he was the willing tool of demagogues. Easy, reckless, somewhat ambitious of notoriety, mistakenly confident of his military talent, ungoverned by principle, fond of the excitements of the camp, readily influenced through his vanity, and poor, it is not strange that he was easily led into a course which had so many abettors among the cooler heads that kept themselves safely within the pale of non-commitalism. Like the majority of the leaders in the rebellion, Shays never prospered after it. After remaining in Massachusetts awhile, he removed to Sparta, N. Y. In 1820, he received a pension from the U. S. Government, and, at that time, his family consisted only of an aged wife. His schedule of personal effects at that date was meager in the extreme, footing up only $40 62. He died in September, 1825, at the age of 78 years.

Of the history and character of Luke Day, something has already been said. He was born in West Springfield, July 25th, 1743, and was, consequently, four years the senior of Shays. His father was the proprietor of an extensive landed estate, which, for some reason, was inherited by a younger brother. His service in the Revolution was longer than that of Shays, and much more soldierly and honorable. Day was a demagogue, and a braggadocio. When Shepard's army was in Springfield, his tongue, though abundantly accustomed to the language of boasting and bravado, could hardly express the contempt he felt for the government forces. He talked wildly of braving Shepard's men, and of spilling "the last drop of blood that ran in his veins," but he never embraced the opportunity of making the sacrifice. Day was not, like Shays, a tool of the rebellion, but an active agent. He raised his own men, and drilled and commanded them. He maintained authority among his troops. He was an inveterate speechmaker, and the shallowness of his principle, and the libertinism which stained his estimate of political freedom, are abundantly illustrated in an extract from one of his speeches which has been preserved. A few days previous to the attack of Shays upon the arsenal, Day, in haranguing his men, said:—"*My boys, you are going to fight for liberty. If you wish to know what liberty is, I will tell you. It is for every man to do what he pleases, to make other folks do as you please to have them, and to keep folks from serving the devil.*"

Day was not insensitive to the good opinion of those whom he respected, and, on one occasion, went to Rev. Dr. Lathrop, the well known minister at West Springfield at that time, and, after a somewhat difficult introduction of the subject, informed the Doctor that he and Shays had determined to attack the Arsenal, asking him if he thought they should succeed. The reverend gentleman told him most decidedly that he thought he would not, and gave for his reasons that his questioner was engaged in a bad cause, and that *he and all his men knew it.* He then told him that a resort to arms to obtain redress for supposed grievances was not justifiable, and that the measures he was taking would involve him in difficulty, and bring distress and ruin upon his family; and he advised him to disperse his men immediately. After the defeat of Shays, Day fled to New York. While in exile, he wrote to Dr. Lathrop, and quoted with no little plausible shrewdness and meaning the following opening passage of the 4th chapter of Ecclesiastes: "So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun, and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of the oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter. Wherefore, I praised the dead which were already dead, more than the living which are yet alive. Yea, better is he than both they which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun. Again I considered all travail and every right work, that for this a man is envied by his neighbor. This is also vanity and vexation of spirit." It would appear by a mittimus issued by the Clerk of the Suffolk County Court, on the 3d of April, 1788, that he was, at a late day, under arrest. How, or when, he was arrested, does not appear, but, from the fact of his durance in the Suffolk County jail, and his arraignment there on the charge of treason, his arrest was probably effected by the agency of the New York authorities. This mittimus is now preserved in the archives of Hampshire County, to which county, by his own request, he was transferred for trial. The mittimus directed the Sheriff and Jailer of the county to keep him until he should be discharged by due course of law. Two months afterwards, he was discharged by the operation of the general pardon. After his pardon, he returned to West Springfield, where, after suffering extremely for several years with the gout, he died in poverty, in 1801, at the age of fifty-eight years. In his movements in the insurrection, Day had far more earnestness, though no more principle than Shays. He believed that *he* had been wronged, and it infuriated him, and his own heated words excited himself as much as they did those to whom they were addressed.

In reviewing the rebellion in which these two men played the most prominent parts, it is admitted, at the outset, that the people of Massachusetts labored under serious burdens, but they were relieved, so far as legislation could do it, by the very Government which put down the rebellion, and by a Government which, in its lenient and most humane treatment of the rebels, demonstrated its susceptibility to moral influences so thoroughly, as to prove that its reformatory measures would have been better effected through the power of the popular will, and through considerations connected with the public good, than by the intimidation of brute force. And when the materials of the rebellion are taken into consideration,—their entire lack of moral power, their utter cowardice, their boastings and their threatenings, their insolence and malice, their outrages and robberies—apology for them stammers with awkward qualifications, and justification stumbles with the weight it carries. That there were some good and honest men among the rebels, is no apology for the rebellion. They were good men deceived by bad men, or misled by their falsely-sprung impulses. The leadership of the movement was exclusively confined to men who would come legitimately under the denomination of one of three classes, viz: adventurers, demagogues and desperadoes. Such were Shays, Day, Shattuck, Parsons, Ely, Wheeler, Hamlin and their associates. There was not a high and honorable character among them, and that these men were allowed to rise in arms against the State authorities, that they found their secret and disguised friends even in the Legislature itself, and were widely sympathized with among the people, who, while ashamed or afraid to join them, gave them covert support for the purpose of influencing legislation, is a shame to the Commonwealth which offered the first blood on the altar of American freedom.

The policy of the rebellion was even more contemptible than its materials. It cannot have escaped notice that the first acts of the rebellion were to stop the Courts, for the purpose of hindering the collection of just debts. The very basis was therefore dishonesty, made doubly dishonest by the lying pretense that the violence instituted was based on the action and declarations of conventions. The second step was the stopping of the Superior Courts that the rebels might not be convicted of their crimes; and still they based their violence on the action of Conventions, some of which had deprecated, most emphatically, all violence. The third step was open rebellion against a Government which, in their petitions, they pretended to wish to conciliate; and while their leading motive of conduct became personal safety, they still tried to deceive the public by harping upon the discordant strings of popular grievances. The fourth step was robbery and murder, revenge and malice. It will have been seen, too, that originally, at least, the mob had no idea of fighting, and that, even later, they had no settled determination to fight. Their sympathizers did not believe they would fight, and did not intend they should. Their policy was to intimidate the Government, and, by appearing in arms, to gain such advantages as should, in the first place, secure the redress of their alleged grievances, and, in the second, ensure their safety. It was the play of brag and bully, a grand sham and show, a hollow pretense—a thousand times more insulting to the Government and the Legislature than downright treason and upright insurrection. The hollow-heartedness and insincerity of the rebellion was exhibited on every occasion where its courage and pretensions were put to the test. The first drop of blood scattered them like frightened sheep, and they fled before the Government troops with disgraceful precipitation, even when best prepared to make a stand. The measures taken to suppress the rebellion claim, at this day, the warmest tribute of the pen of praise. To Governor JAMES BOWDOIN, more than any other man, belongs the credit of preserving the State from anarchy, and of so meting out justice with mercy, severity with prudence, force with discretion, and law with Christian humanity, as to reconcile a discontented people with their Government, restore peace where all was discord, and put down a wide rebellion against the constituted authorities, with less bloodshed than had often resulted from an insignificant border conflict of the old province. He did this in the face of a people steeped with seditious sentiments. He did it against the prejudices of a reluctant and infected Legislature, and it seems almost a miracle of moral power that he was enabled to conceive and carry out a policy which even a Governor and a Legislature elected by the mob and their sympathizers, the latter having in its composition a portion of the mob itself, were obliged to indorse and approve. His name must be enrolled among the highest benefactors of Massachusetts, and be held in grateful remembrance while love for the old Commonwealth, respect for good government, and loyalty to free institutions, shall endure.

The indirect effect of the rebellion was to hasten the adoption of a federal government. It exhibited to the country the gateway of political perdition, and, in itself, and in its affiliated movements in the neighboring States, showed what multitudes were ready to press into it. But it sowed also the seeds of bitterness. It broke the chain of family affection. It planted thickly springing and long enduring prejudices in neighborhoods. It divided churches, and thrust loved and revered ministers from their pulpits. It strewed the path of legislation with thorny jealousies. It wasted precious time, and misapplied scanty means. It increased the indebtedness of the State. If it meliorated legislation, it disgraced and vitiated it in the same proportion. If it intimidated the Government, as it intended to do, it dishonored it in the same degree. If it produced one good effect, in any way, or by any means, that good effect was purchased by a sacrifice of honor that would have been dearly parted with at a thousand fold the price received. But it taught a lesson, and let that lesson be remembered: That the rebellion of a people against a government *established by themselves* is not justifiable, even in an extreme case, and can only result in dishonor to the State, and calamity and disgrace to those who participate in it.

The rebellion was accompanied by incidents almost numberless, which, if they could be collected and properly recorded, would form, of themselves, an interesting chapter. In the early part of the movement, a wag met a gentleman from Hampshire, and addressed him as follows: "I find your Convention (alluding to the Hatfield Convention) and the devil think alike in some things." "How so?" inquired he of Hampshire. "Why," responded the wag, "your Convention has voted that the Court of the General Sessions of the Peace is a grievance. The devil thinks so too, because that Court punishes thieves, whores, drunkards, liars, breakers of the peace and profane swearers, who are his favorite children." During the last days of September, 1786, at the time when the large mob was assembled in Springfield to stop the session of the Supreme Judicial Court, Shays was quartered in a house in the vicinity of Ferry Street. At that time, Dr. Chauncey Brewer, a resident of Springfield, had been out in the night to attend a patient. The Doctor was a decided anti-Shays man, and openly, and at all times wore the slip of white paper in his hat. He was arrested by the sentinels, and brought before Shays. With entire unconcern, he told the rebel leader that he was perfectly easy in regard to the matter, and if he would give him a place to sleep, he would retire. Shays did not feel easy, and told him that if he would take off his paper badge he might go. "No, *Sir*," said the Doctor, "I shall not do it—just give me a place to sleep." "Doctor, you must take off that badge," responded Shays. "No, Captain Shays, that badge will stay there," persisted the Doctor, good naturedly, "and now," added he, "let me give you a bit of information. I have got a number of patients to see in the morning. The people are not inclined to disturb you now, but if they are deprived of their physician, and find out where I am, you will have war about your ears." "Well, Doctor," replied Shays, take off that badge and go." "Captain Shays, I shall not do it," said the Doctor. "Well, go along, you rebel," said Shays, and the Doctor picked his way home, and kept the paper to write prescriptions on. As illustrative of the extent to which public feeling was excited, two members of the church in Whately brought up a child, respectively, to be baptized, on a Sabbath in August, 1787. One of them received the name of "Benjamin Lincoln;" the other that of "Daniel Shays."

After the repulse of Shays, at the time he made, or attempted to make, the attack upon the Springfield Arsenal, a number of men deserted, and made their way homewards. In passing the houses on their route, they gave the customary "Hurra for Shays!" In one instance, a horse, attached to a wagon, and about a quarter of a mile distant from them, broke from his fastenings by the side of the road, and, running away, was killed. An action was brought by the owner of the horse against the Shays men for the recovery of the value of the animal, on the ground that they were primarily the cause of his death. The defendants engaged a lawyer in their behalf whose weakness was occasional over-draughts of brandy, and who, when under the influence of liquor, was not particularly choice in his language, even in the Court room. He managed to get through with his evidence, and, with marvellous conciseness, made his plea in the following words, which, barring its profanity, is a model: "May it please the Court, and Gentlemen of the Jury! If 'Hurra for Shays' will kill a horse at eighty rods, then we've lost our case: if not, then by —— we've won it." The jury coincided with this opinion, and returned a verdict for the defendants.

The newspaper wags were, of course, in their element, and the following epigram, from the pen of one of them, is decidedly pointed and witty:

"Says sober Bill, 'well, Shays has fled,
  And peace returns to bless our days!'
'Indeed,' cries Ned, 'I always said
  He'd prove at last a *fall-back Shays;*
And those turned over and undone
  Call him a worthless Shays, *to run!*'"

At the time of the action near the Arsenal, one of the Government troops named Chaloner, a citizen of Greenfield, had both arms shot off while loading a cannon. When it was seen, Deacon Harroun of Colerain immediately took his place, and, as the swab had been lost with the arms, he thrust a mitten down the cannon to the length of his arm, and thus successfully swabbed the piece.

CHAPTER XIX

INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL ASPECTS.

It may readily be imagined that the excitements of the Revolutionary War and those of the Shays Rebellion, which, together, had occupied the minds of the people of Western Massachusetts for more than twelve years, had left but little opportunity for the development of the resources of the region. The natural increase of population, and the accumulation of families at new points had called some new town corporations into existence, but no new walks of industry had been projected, and no new fields of enterprise opened. The discontents of those times were manifested not unfrequently in attempts to procure changes of county lines which, when entire peace had returned, and labor had purchased freedom from debts and difficulties, were dropped, until later years and an increased population made them necessary. In 1784 and 1785, an attempt was made, by a petition to the Legislature, to have a new county formed of the towns of Warwick, Wendell, New Salem, and Shutesbury, and the districts of Greenwich and Orange, in old Hampshire County, and the towns of Hardwick, Barre, Hubbardston, Petersham, Templeton, Winchester, Athol and Royalston in Worcester county, with Petersham for the County seat. The remoteness of these towns from the county seats, and the overwhelming amount of business which the existing Courts had on hand, were alleged as the basis of the petition.

The means of transportation in the Connecticut Valley had always been limited and difficult. As enterprise sprang into new life upon the close of the long decade of war and disturbance, this lack of means for the transportation of merchandise, lumber, &c., was severely felt, and the leading men, not only of Hampshire, but Berkshire, joined in the project of increasing them, by one of the most remarkable enterprises that had, at that day, been planned in America, viz:—the construction of a canal around the falls at South Hadley, and around Turner's Falls at Montague.

On the 23d of February, 1792, the Legislature passed "An act, incorporating the Honorable John Worthington Esquire, and others therein named, for the purpose of rendering Connecticut River passable for boats and other things, from the mouth of Chicopee River Northward throughout this Commonwealth, by the name of the Proprietors of the Locks and' Canals on Connecticut River." Besides John Worthington, (who was a resident of Springfield) the other individuals named in the act of incorporation were Caleb Strong, Robert Breck, Samuel Henshaw, Ebenezer Lane, Ebenezer Hunt, Benjamin Prescott and Levi Shepard of Northampton, Samuel Lyman, Jonathan Dwight, Thomas Dwight, John Hooker and William Smith of Springfield, Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge, David Sexton and John Williams of Deerfield, Samuel Fowler of Westfield, Justin Ely of West Springfield, Dwight Foster of Brookfield, Simeon Strong of Amherst, and William Moore.

The toll established by law for passage through the Canal at South Hadley was, for every tun weight in boats, four shillings and sixpence, and the same sum for every thousand feet of boards. Five shillings and sixpence per tun was the toll established for the Canal at Montague, and two shillings and sixpence for every thousand feet of boards, while every boat passing through the locks and canals was to be tolled at the rate of one shilling for every tun which the boat was capable of carrying, over and above the freight it had on board. The capacity of the locks, as prescribed, was to be equal to the transport of boats or rafts twenty feet wide, and sixty feet long. The act of incorporation was to be void, unless the works at South Hadley were completed in four, and those at Montague, in six, years.

Soon after their incorporation, the company commenced operations at South Hadley, Benjamin Prescott of Northampton, subsequently the Superintendent of the U. S. Armory in Springfield, being the engineer. In the planning and execution of this work, he had no precedent, it is believed, in this country. It is supposed that this was the first canal, of any importance, at least, attempted to be built in the United States. The Middlesex Canal Co. was not incorporated until a year or more afterwards. On the

25th of February, 1793, the company, by an act of the Legislature, were empowered to assess the proprietors in such sums as were necessary for carrying on the work, and, in case the assessments were not paid, to sell the shares of delinquents. The shares were made transferable, and were established as personal estate. The difficulties which called for this enactment gave early threat of breaking up the undertaking. Money was scarce, and the cost of the enterprise had evidently been under-estimated. From subsequent events, it is evident that the new powers of the company did not give the necessary funds, for, soon afterwards, an agent was sent to Holland, then the money-lending country of the world, to engage the interest of the Dutch in the undertaking. The agent succeeded in getting a considerable amount of stock taken, and returned with his money. In the meantime, the practical difficulties that stood in the way of the enterprise had been comprehended, and, by an act passed on the 21st of June, 1793, the proprietors were released from the obligation to build their canals and locks of the capacity already stated, that capacity being reduced to the reception of boats and rafts forty feet in length, and sixteen feet in width. The work increased in the minds and upon the hands of its projectors, until they saw that it was all that one corporation could do, to finish and take care of the South Hadley enterprise. Accordingly, on the 27th of February, 1794, two years after the act of incorporation, an act was passed for dividing and separating the interest in the Upper and Lower Canals. It was enacted that the proprietors of the latter should remain a corporation, and that Samuel Henshaw and Benjamin Prescott of Northampton, and Jonathan Dwight of Springfield, and their associates, should be a distinct corporation, by the name of "The proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canals on Connecticut River," vested with all the powers incident to corporations. The interest in this new enterprise was divided into five hundred and four shares.

The lower canal was at last finished, and was two and a half miles long, much of it dug through solid rock. But its bed was not low enough to take the water from the river, and this difficulty was sought to be obviated by the construction of a dam. It was accordingly commenced, at the head of the canal, and run obliquely up and across the river to a narrow point in the stream, when its course was changed, and run directly across, to the opposite shore. This operation gave early rise to difficulties, and to lawsuits that followed up the movements of the company for several years. The dam set the water back for several miles, flowing the Northampton meadows and inflicting some intermittent fever and more excitement upon the people of that town, who immediately got the company indicted for the maintenance of a nuisance. The complainants won their case, when it came on for trial, and the dam, save its oblique section, was ordered to be torn down. This affair frightened off the Dutchmen, interested in both the lower and the upper enterprise, who took early occasion to sell off their shares at a large sacrifice, and retire from the field, when the stock soon came to be held by few hands. The oblique dam answered the purposes of the company but indifferently, but it was all they had for several years.

The style of the locks, and the machinery used at that time, are worthy of description, and show how little was then known of the proper structure of canals. At the point where boats were to be lowered and elevated, was a long, inclined plane, traversed by an immense car of the width of the canal and of sufficient length to take in a boat, or a section of a raft. At the top of this inclined plane, were two large water wheels, one on either side of the canal, which furnished, by the aid of the water of the canal, the power for elevating the car, and for balancing and controlling it in its descent. At the foot of the inclined plane, the car descended into the water of the canal, becoming entirely submerged. A boat ascending the river, and passing into the canal, would be floated directly over and into the car, the brim of the latter, of course, being gauged to a water level by its elevation aft in proportion to the angle of inclination of the traverse way. The boat being secure in the car, the water was let upon the water wheels, which, by their common shaft, were attached to the car through two immense cables, and thus, winding the cables, the car was drawn up to a proper point, when the boat passed out into the canal above. The reverse of this operation, readily comprehended by the reader, transfered a boat, or the section of a raft, from above downwards.

The demand for more water in the canal at last became imperative, but the money for effecting the necessary changes was wanting. Finally, the proprietors resorted to an expedient for "raising the wind," as well as the water, not uncommon in those days, and in accordance with their petition, the Legislature, on the 25th of February, 1802, granted them a lottery for raising $20,000, for the purpose of rendering the locks and canal passable without the aid of a dam across the river, by lowering the bed of the canal four feet throughout its entire extent. Thomas Dwight, Justin Ely, Jonathan Dwight, Joseph Lyman Jr., and John Williams were appointed as the managers of this lottery, each of whom was bound in the sum of $5,000 for the faithful discharge of his trust. They were directed to publish the schemes they should arrange in the newspapers of the county. The grant was to be operative for four years. This plan succeeded, and, at the end of 1804, or the commencement of 1805, the lowering of the canal was completed. The engineer in this operation was Ariel Cooley, a man of a great deal of native force and ingenuity, who pushed aside the car and cables, and introduced the simple lock, like those now in use on all important works. After he had completed his work, he made a contract with the proprietors to keep the canal in repair, survey the craft that should pass through the canal, and take the tolls, for fifty years, for the consideration of one-quarter of the tolls. This arrangement relieved the corporation of nearly all its care in connection with the enterprise, and Mr. Cooley probably did not suppose that any great expense would ever be necessary, in keeping the canal in operative order. In 1814, however, he found it necessary, in order to increase the facilities of navigation, to run another dam across the river. This was only partly completed when the Winter came on, and the Spring freshet swept it all away. In 1815, he completed a dam directly across the river from the head of the canal, where it stood until 1824, when it was swept away. In the meantime, Mr. Cooley had died, and the administrators of the estate rebuilt the dam, which still stands, and is marked by a slight ripple where the water joins with the dead water set back by the great dam of the Hadley Falls Company. Both dams were indicted as nuisances, on complaint of those interested in the shad fisheries above, but the indictment of the first was stopped by the agreement of Mr. Cooley to build a fish-way, by which the shad could ascend the river. This, by a proper knowledge of the habits and power of the fish, he was enabled to do. Directly below the dam, he ran out from the Eastern shore an oblique dam, a part of the way across the river. The water, as it passed over the main dam, was arrested by the oblique dam, forming an eddy into which the shad could run from the rapids below. At a point opposite this oblique dam, and fronting the eddy made by it, he cut down, for the width of a plank or two, and to a limited length, the main dam, making a passage through which the powerful fish could dart; and the event proved that he had calculated upon their powers correctly. The second indictment gave rise to an extended lawsuit, in which nearly all the lawyers in the County were engaged, on one side or the other. The matter resulted in the rebuilding of the fish-way. The contract of Mr. Cooley was ultimately given up, by an arrangement between his administrators and the proprietors, and the canal thus remained, used more or less for manufacturing purposes, as navigation declined, until it was purchased by the Hadley Falls Co., who were empowered to build their present dam, subject to an equitable indemnification of the fishing rights above.

The construction of the dam at Montague was first attempted some two miles below the falls, at Smead's Island, by Capt. Elisha Mack of Montague, who operated either as engineer for the Corporation, or a contractor for its work. After a season of unsuccessful effort, the point was abandoned, chiefly on account of the depth of the water. In this connection, an incident may be mentioned, going to prove that the sub-marine armor of later times is "nothing new under the sun." While Capt. Mack was operating at Smead's Island, an itinerant Scotchman made his appearance, who undertook to construct a sort of leathern case for the body, with a long tube attached for the purpose of respiration, and glass about the face for the use of vision. He succeeded in worming his way into the Captain's favor, worked steadily at the curious armor, and, on a Saturday night, pronounced it complete, and appointed Monday for an experimental test. After closing work, he obtained the loan of Capt. Mack's gray mare, a valuable animal, for the purpose of visiting a lady, a somewhat attractive fair of the times and the locality. Capt. Mack conferred the favor gladly, and would have been rejoiced to see the ingenious Scotchman again, but he never did, both mare and rider mysteriously disappearing.

In 1793, Capt. Mack succeeded in constructing a dam at Turner's Falls. It stood one year on trial, as it was doubted whether it would be able to withstand the Spring freshets, but it sustained the test. In the course of the following year, the canal was commenced, but it was not completed for the passage of rafts and boats until two or three years afterwards. In the meantime, the lumbermen were obliged to "draw by," or take their raft boxes in pieces above the dam, and cart them to a point below, where they were again committed to the river, and re-constructed for the remaining passage downwards. This canal is three miles in length.

The Falls at South Hadley have ever been an interesting feature in the natural scenery of the Connecticut Valley. It was around them, as well as around Turner's Falls, that the aboriginal inhabitants of the valley gathered in large numbers, to pursue their fisheries. The land now covered by the village at South Hadley Falls was originally granted to Major John Pynchon, being half of one thousand acres granted him by the General Court, after his severe losses by the Springfield fire, during King Philip's War. The original Indian name of both falls was, doubtless, *Patucket;* or Pawtucket, Patuxet, &c., as the word was otherwise spelled. This was the general Indian name for water-falls, and there is a single evidence on record that the falls at South Hadley were known by that name. This occurs in the seventh article of the original agreement made by the inhabitants of Springfield, in the words: "that the meddowe and pasture called Nayas, *towards Patucket,*" &c. Nayassett or Nayas was defined in the record of an early deed as "the three corner meadow and land adjoining, extending Northerly to Chicopee river." This tract, then, was "*towards* Patucket," and that being the general name for falls, was, doubtless, the one by which the Indians knew the locality. In early times, the river was a great resort for salmon, a fish now driven out of the river by the erection of the obstructions to their ascent of the stream, already noticed. They remained in the stream until some years after the erection of the dam at Montague. The first season after the construction of this dam, they were very plenty at Turner's Falls, and were caught in immense numbers, as they could not get beyond there, but after this, they declined rapidly, from year to year, until, at last, they entirely forsook the stream. They were caught at South Hadley as late as the year 1800. An eye witness describes, from memory, the mode of their capture. In hauling in a seine, in the shad fishery, they not unfrequently formed a portion of the prey, and manifested their presence by commotions well understood by the fishermen. The common seine could not withstand their powerful struggles, and the fishermen were obliged to wade out, and get behind the net, and, by kicking it, and striking upon the water, drive them into the shallow water near shore, where they were grasped by the skillful, and rendered powerless by certain deftly delivered raps upon the head. At that time, as many as 2,000 shad were sometimes taken at a haul. The shad fishery has gradually declined since, owing partly, doubtless, to an actual diminution of the number of shad entering the river, and partly to the increase of the number of gill-nets in the lower part of the river, which have become so prevalent as to operate almost as an absolute bar to their progress up the stream. The shad fisheries at South Hadley Falls were formerly considered common property, and were participated in by all who had a taste for the business. But in these days, shad are held in much higher repute than then, and command a much larger price. Under this state of things, the owners of the land upon the fishing grounds a few years since availed themselves of the law, giving to the owners of land on unnavigable streams the exclusive right to fish on them, expelled the old fishermen from their annual haunts, and took possession of the fish-rights. Under the law which effected this change, a stream is defined to be unnavigable above tide water. The owners of the land are, therefore, now making a profitable thing of it. In 1853, they took out from 40,000 to 50,000 shad, which, at a shilling apiece, a reasonable average, amounted in productive value to more than $8,000.

The question of the future occupation of the river by these noble fish is one of great interest and importance, and one not to be decided by precedent. Since the construction of the dam by the Hadley Falls Co., no shad have ascended beyond that point, and yet, no perceptible diminution of the fish has occurred. That it is not so important for them to ascend to the sources of the stream for spawning, as it is for salmon, has already been proved. In fact, it is by no means certain, although it is highly probable, that the shad caught in the river are the same that are bred in it. In 1812, shad were caught in large numbers in Medford, below a dam in Mystic river, only a mile removed from tide-water, and they had been caught there thus for years. It is hardly to be supposed that they bred there at all. Whether they did, or did not, the fact is an important one in connection with the question of the continuance of the shad in the Connecticut.

The lottery system, in the construction of important works of improvement, was much in vogue during the last part of the 18th and the first of the 19th centuries. On the 6th of March, 1782, a lottery was granted "for erecting a bridge over Chikabee river, on the road leading from Springfield to Hadley." On the first of November, of the same year, a lottery was granted for repairing and supporting a bridge over Agawam River, in West Springfield. On the 18th of June, 1783, a lottery was granted for the purpose of rebuilding a bridge across Westfield river, in the town of Westfield, near a place called Weller's Mills. On the 11th of February, 1789, an act was passed granting a lottery "for the purpose of erecting a suitable building for the use of the free school in Williamstown." This was granted for the purpose of raising a sum not exceeding £1,200.

Bridges over the smaller streams, now built and supported by towns, were formerly owned by incorporated companies, and supported by tolls. On the 16th of March, 1805, George Blake, Pitt Bliss, Jonathan Dwight, Jr., James S. Dwight, Joshua Frost, Charles Leonard, Daniel Lombard, Edward Pynchon, William Smith, Gad Warriner, Solomon Warriner, Eleazer Williams, John Worthington and Amos Worthington, were incorporated as "The proprietors of Aggawaum Bridge," for the purpose of building a bridge over that river, in West Springfield. On the 18th of June, 1795, Jonathan Leavitt and Eliel Gilbert and their associates were incorporated for the purpose of building a bridge over Connecticut river, between Greenfield and Montague. This still remains a toll bridge. On the 22d of June, 1797, Jonathan Hoit and David Smead were incorporated as the proprietors of the Deerfield River Bridge, in the town of Deerfield, at the point where Williams' Ferry was then kept. As early as July 7, 1786, Jonathan Hoit was also associated in an act of incorporation with John Williams, for the purpose of building a bridge over the same river, at a place then called Rocky Mountain. On the 8th of March, 1803, Lemuel Dickinson and 74 others were incorporated for the purpose of building a bridge over the Connecticut River, between the towns of Hadley and Hatfield, a bridge that is not maintained at the present day. On the 6th of March, 1792, David Sexton, David Smead, Lyman Taft, Elisha Mack, and their associates, were incorporated for the purpose of erecting a bridge over Connecticut River between Montague and Greenfield, "at the place called the Great Falls." On the 2d of March, 1803, Ebenezer Hunt, Levi Shepard, Joseph Lyman, Jr., Asahel Pomeroy, John Taylor, and a large number of others, were named in an act of incorporation, for building the bridge over the Connecticut, between Northampton and Hadley. On the 22d of February, of the same year, John Hooker, George Bliss, Joseph Williams, Samuel Fowler, Jonathan Dwight, Thomas Dwight, Justin Ely, and their associates, were incorporated as the proprietors of the bridge connecting Springfield with West Springfield. The toll established was for each foot passenger, 3 cents; for each horse and rider, 7 cents; for each horse and chaise, chair or sulkey, 16 cents; for each coach, chariot, phæton, or other four wheeled carriage for passengers, 33 cents; curricle, 25 cents; horse and sleigh, 10 cents; neat cattle, 3 cents each; sheep and swine, 1 cent. On the 10th of February, David Morley was authorized to build a toll bridge across Westfield river, "near the late dwelling house of Stephen Noble, deceased." He was authorized to collect of foot passengers 1 cent toll, for a horse and rider, 4 cents, horse and chaise, 10 cents, &c. On the 17th of June, 1800, the town of Westfield was authorized to build a toll bridge, "over Westfield Great River, near Park's Mills."

Turnpikes were largely multiplied after the close of the Revolutionary War and the Shays Rebellion, to meet the exigencies of increasing business and population, and the general poverty of the towns and counties. On the 8th of March, 1797, Asaph White, Jesse King and their associates were incorporated as "The Second Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation," for the purpose of laying out and making a turnpike road from the west line of Charlemont, to the west foot of Hoosac Mountain in Adams, with the privilege of collecting tolls of passengers. On the 19th of June, 1801, Ezra Marvin, Elihu Stow and a hundred others, more or less, were incorporated as "The Eleventh Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation," for the purpose of building a road, "to begin at the south line of Massachusetts, at or near the ending of the turnpike road lately established by the Legislature of the State of Connecticut; thence into and through the East parish of Granville to Blandford meeting house, and from thence through the town street in Blandford, by the usual Pittsfield road, so called, and into the town of Becket by the same road, until it connects with the road of the Eighth Turnpike Corporation." This latter corporation was established on the 24th of February, 1800, Joseph Stebbins, James S. Dwight, and George Bliss, being the leading names in the act. The road began at the line between Westfield and Russell, near Westfield River, running near the river through parts of the towns of Russell and Blandford, to a point then known as Falley's store; thence by the West Branch of the river through parts of Blandford and Chester, until it reached what was known as the Government road, by which it ran to Becket, connecting with the road from Blandford to Pittsfield; thence by the usual road from Becket meeting house to Pittsfield line. The Third Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation was established March 9th, 1797. The leading names in the act of incorporation were Jonah Brewster, Elisha Brewster, Jonathan Brewster, Samuel Buffington and Tristram Browning, and their road commenced on the East side of Roberts' Hill in Northampton, and ran to the Eastern line of Pittsfield, passing through Westhampton, Chesterfield, Worthington, Peru (then Partridgefield) and Dalton.

There never was a *Fourth* Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation, but the Williamstown Turnpike Corporation legitimately comes in its place. This was established on the 1st of March, 1799, for the purpose of building and keeping in repair a road from the West side of Hoosac mountain, commencing at the termination of the road of the 2d Corporation, (from Charlemont over the mountain) and running thence through Adams and Williamstown to the line of Petersburg, Rensselaer County, N. Y. The Fifth Corporation was established on the 1st of March, 1799. This was for the building of a road from Northfield, through Warwick and Orange to Athol, and also from Greenfield through Montague and unimproved lands to Athol, where the roads were to join, and proceed through Templeton, Gardner, Westminster and Fitchburg, to Leominster. The Sixth Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation was established on the 22d of June, 1799, their road commencing on the East line of Amherst, and passing through Pelham, Greenwich, Hardwick, New Braintree, Oakham, Rutland, Holden and Worcester, "to the great road in Shrewsbury, leading from New York to Boston." The road was ordered to be not less than four rods wide, and the traveled path not less than eighteen feet wide, in any place. The Tenth Turnpike Corporation was established on the 16th of June, 1800, for the purpose of laying out, making and keeping in repair a road from the point where the Farmington river crosses the line between Massachusetts and Connecticut, by the side of the river through Sandisfield, Bethlehem, (now a part of Otis) Becket and Lee, to Lenox Court House; thence over the mountain, through Richmond and Hancock, to the New York State line. The Twelfth Turnpike Corporation received its charter on the 19th of June, 1801. Its road commenced on the Connecticut line, in Sheffield, at the termination of a turnpike leading to Hartford, and ran Northwesterly to meet the Hudson River Turnpike, at the line of New York. The Thirteenth Corporation, established June 19th, 1801, built a road from the Connecticut line through Granville, to the Northwestern part of Loudon, now a portion of the town of Otis. The Fourteenth Corporation was chartered on the 11th of March, 1802, to build a road from the West end of the Fifth Turnpike in Greenfield, through that town, Shelburne, Buckland and Charlemont, to the Eastern terminus of the Second Turnpike, leading over Hoosac Mountain. The Fifteenth Turnpike Corporation was established on the 12th of February, 1803, for the purpose of building a road from the Connecticut line in Southfield (now a part of Sandisfield) to connect with a turnpike from New Haven; thence through Sandisfield, New Marlboro and Great Barrington, to the Southern line of Stockbridge. The Sixteenth Corporation was chartered on the 14th of February, 1803, to build a road from the West line of West Springfield, through Southwick, Granville, Tolland and Sandisfield, to the turnpike route passing through Sheffield, from Hartford, Ct., to Hudson, N. Y.

The Petersham and Monson Corporation was established February 29th, 1804, its road leading from the Fifth Turnpike in Athol, through the towns of Athol, Petersham, Dana, Greenwich, Ware, Palmer and Monson, to connect with the turnpike leading to Stafford in Connecticut. The Becket Turnpike Corporation received its charter on the 22d of June, 1803, for building a road from Becket, connecting the turnpike from Hartford to Lenox with the turnpike leading from Pittsfield to Westfield. The Springfield and Longmeadow Corporation was established on the 7th of March, 1804, for the purpose of building a road from the Southern extremity of Main Street, by a direct route through Longmeadow to the Connecticut line. The Tyringham and Lee Corporation, established on the 15th of March, 1805, built a road between specified points in those towns, and the Williamsburg and Windsor Corporation, established on the 16th of March, 1805, built a road through Williamsburg, Goshen, Cummington and Windsor to the East line of Cheshire. Besides these, there were the Belchertown and Greenwich, the Blandford and Russell, the Chester, and, perhaps, a few other minor turnpike corporations. In fact, nearly all the turnpikes established by the Legislature were located in the Western part of the State.

The tedious list of turnpike corporations which has been enumerated, the list of bridge corporations given, and the statements in connection with the construction of the locks and canals for the purpose of rendering Connecticut River navigable, will show the nature of the enterprises that engaged the attention of the people in the years of peace, industry and enterprise that followed the Shays Rebellion. The turnpike fever was equal to the railroad fever of later times. Turnpikes were everywhere, and the taxation of transport was universal, but that taxation was not, for many years, felt to be a grievance. The turnpike roads greatly facilitated access to markets, and, in the same degree, increased the value of real estate on every route through which they passed. It is, comparatively, but a few years since the towns, made competent and populous through their assistance, took the large majority of them from the hands of their proprietors, and assumed their support at the public charge. That they had a decided effect in the development of the resources, the healthy stimulation of the industry, and the establishment upon the soundest basis, of the prosperity of Western Massachusetts, is evident alike from their popularity as investments, the regions through which they passed, and the points of production and exchange which they connected.

The style of life, manners and dress, at the commencement of the 19th century, is a subject of interest to the present dwellers upon the soil, and will be still more so to their successors. A venerable native of Northampton—an absentee from his birth-place for half a century—in a communication to the Hampshire Gazette, has described it minutely, and that town will serve as a truthful type of the style of the region and the times. It was not the custom then to warm the churches. Rev. Solomon Williams was pastor of the church in Northampton, and he used to preach in a blue great coat, with a bandanna handkerchief about his neck, and woolen mittens on his hands. The boys in the church were accustomed to warm their feet by pounding them against the benches, the women performing the same office for themselves, through the more silent agency of foot-stoves. The deacons were ranged in a line at the foot of the pulpit. At that time, prayer meetings were deemed somewhat fanatical, but the children were taught the catechism, and were catechized quarterly, at the school-house, by the minister. The Lord's Supper was regarded as a converting ordinance, and it was not uncommon for mothers, just before the birth of their first child, to join the church, in order that their first infants might have the right to, and benefit of, baptism.

The gallows, whipping-post and pillory stood in front of the school-house, and, on Saturday, the Sheriff of the County executed such sentences as called into exercise the office of those instructive instruments. Whether it was supposed that whipping on the bare back, cropping the ears, branding the forehead with a hot iron, standing on the pillory, and sitting on the gallows, were suitable modes of impressing lessons of obedience upon the children, does not appear, but the proximity of those scenes to the school-house would seem to show that their effect was deemed anything but demoralizing. Judicial dignity was maintained by the old methods. The judges walked from their lodgings to the Court House in a line, wearing cocked hats that covered powdered heads of hair. They were preceded by the high sheriff, who also wore a cocked hat, and carried a long rod or wand in his hand, the Court House bell ringing while they were walking from their lodgings to the scene of their proceedings.

In social life, ardent spirits played an important part. Respectable traders dealt out the article to very miserable topers, respectable men assembled, even on Sunday evenings, in the parlor of the village tavern, to drink flip and smoke their pipes, respectable young men went forth in sleighing parties, stopping at every tavern for their flip, and boys drank flip by the hour in the barrooms of respectable members of the church. Then, Sunday night was the night for play among the children, Saturday night being observed as holy time. They pursued their noisy games in the street, or assembled in neighboring houses to play blind-man's-buff, and tell stories. Then there was not an umbrella in town. The old men all wore cocked hats and long queues, while the more genteel and stylish wore ruffles at their wrists. This description would seem almost to belong to another age, but only a brief half century has made the changes that give to it its strangeness and antiquity, and many an active memory now recalls what the pen depicts and perpetuates.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WAR OF 1812 — CONCLUSION OF THE OUTLINE HISTORY.

THE prosperity growing out of the extensive public enterprises, instituted for the purpose of increasing the facilities of intercourse and transport in Western Massachusetts, was sadly interrupted by the second war with Great Britain, familiarly known as "The War of 1812." The events which brought about this war are still in the memory of many now living, while the policy on which it was based, and by which it was managed, has been so long, and so unjustly, connected with party politics and associated with party names, that it still remains to the historian to render full justice to, and impartial judgment upon, the motives, the policy, the measures, and the men, whose fierce collisions and bitter animosities made so strong an impression upon the public mind that it has resisted the obliterating influences of forty peaceful and prosperous years. A very brief recital of the events which led to the war, and a statement of the principal movements in Western Massachusetts connected with its progress, are all that will be attempted here.

Scarcely a dozen years had passed after the treaty of 1783, when England, engaged in her terrible struggle with Napoleon, was driven by the necessities of her immense navy to the impressment of her own subjects for seamen. This necessity pressed so sternly, and was so little governed by motives of national honor, that, passing beyond her own bounds, her cruisers boarded American merchantmen on the pretense of searching for British deserters, and impressed American sailors who were known to be otherwise. In nine months of the years 1796 and 1797, the American Minister at London had made application for the release of 271 seamen, the majority of whom were American citizens. Nor did she stop here, but claimed the right to impress, on American vessels, British seamen and British subjects. American merchantmen were boarded and

American seamen impressed, in American waters. An American merchantman lying in the harbor of New York was boarded by the British frigate Cambria in 1804, and several of her seamen were carried off. American vessels, passing from port to port, of the United States, were fired into. In 1806, the British Orders in Council and Napoleon's Berlin and Milan Decrees were issued. England declared France and the whole continent in a state of blockade, and France retaliated in kind. Under the operation of these orders and decrees, American ships became the prey of both England and France. England declared all ships sailing from the harbors of France and her allies to be lawful prizes, save those that first touched at, or sailed from, English ports; and France adopted the same unjust and destructive policy with regard to ships that had touched at an English port, or allowed themselves to be searched by British cruisers. Between both powers, American commerce was in danger, almost, of annihilation. The American nation was in distress, and on fire with excitement, and, in retaliation for the mischiefs and injustice imposed by the French Decrees and the British Orders in Council, an embargo was laid in 1807 upon all American vessels and merchandise. This embargo prohibited all American vessels from sailing from foreign ports, and forbade foreign ships taking cargoes from American ports, while all coasting vessels were obliged to give bonds to land their cargoes in the United States. This measure, while it doubtless saved multitudes of American ships, inflicted on the people generally, by its arrest of the tide of commerce, more distress than their loss would have done. The measure weighed very heavily upon New England, and under the pressure of the loud complaint raised in this section, the law was repealed in 1809, and a law substituted, prohibiting commercial intercouse with France and England. In 1810, this law was modified, so as to exclude only British and armed vessels from the waters of the United States, with the provision that it should be fully restored in the event that England and France did not recede from their edicts.

Passing by the action and debates of the Twelfth Congress, the negotiations between the American and British Governments, and a recapitulation of the events that occurred in the progress of diplomacy, we come to the declaration of war proclaimed by the President on the 19th of June, 1812. The declaration was received in New England generally, and in Massachusetts particularly, with utter condemnation. The country was then divided into two parties, the Democratic and Federal, who traced their origin to the date of the formation of the Federal Constitution, the Federalists being those who were in favor of consolidation and concentration of power in the federal head, while the Democrats advocated the preservation of more extended powers in the Governments of the several States. The one was doubtless too conservative; the other, too radical; and the Constitution was a happy compromise of these extreme views. Under the Constitution, the parties were continued, and exhibited their proclivities by respectively bestowing upon that instrument a strict and a latitudinarian construction. At the time war was declared, Madison was President, with a Democratic Congress at his back, and the Democratic party, then largely in the majority, in favor of the war, while the Federalists were bitterly against it. The sympathies of the latter, so far as her quarrel with France was concerned, were on the side of Great Britain, while the Democrats favored the French, to the disparagement of the British cause. The Federalists regarded Great Britain as struggling for her very existence, against the power of a monster of political iniquity. They believed that England was not inimical to America, and that she had only resorted to impressment of American seamen, and her Orders in Council, to save herself from the grasp of one whose success they regarded as the greatest of possible evils. They deemed it as much the duty of the Government to declare war against France as against England, as she stood on the same ground, and was, as they believed, in the wrong in her struggle with England. It may safely be said that party feeling ran so high, and party lines were so closely drawn, that neither party, save by pure accident, could have been wholly right. In Massachusetts, the war became the theme of pulpit denunciation, the subject of consideration and condemnation in town meetings, and the target of full quivers of resolutions from the taught-strung bows of conventions. Berkshire was somewhat more Democratic than the river region, but the latter was very thoroughly Federal, and hated the war with entire heartiness.

It will be necessary, in noticing the movements in this region, to refer to changes in the old county of Hampshire that occurred at a briefly anterior date. On the 24th of June, 1811, the Northern portion of the county succeeded in its endeavors to be set off into a distinct county, with the name of Franklin, and with Greenfield as its shire town, though Cheapside, in Deerfield, was the favorite location for the county houses, among the majority of the towns. The existence of county buildings in both Springfield and Northampton, and the increase of legal business in consequence of the increase of population, soon afterwards excited a movement in the Southern part of Hampshire, for still another division, and on February 25, 1812, the division was effected, by the establishment of the present County of Hampden, with Springfield as the county seat. Old Hampshire was thus divided into three counties,—the middle county, with Northampton as the shire town, retaining the time-honored name by which the whole of Western Massachusetts was originally known.

Immediately after the declaration of war, nearly all the towns in Western Massachusetts possessing Federal majorities, passed resolutions condemning it, and, by concert of action, the towns of the three river counties, in legal town meetings, appointed delegates to a grand convention to be holden at Northampton on the 14th of July, 1812, to consult upon the war. Accordingly, on that day, delegates from 57 towns in the three counties assembled at the Northampton Court House. In 53 of these towns, the delegates were regularly appointed, and appeared with the certificates of their respective town clerks, while the remaining four sent representatives of federal minorities. The most of these delegates are now deceased, but a few still survive. Their names were as follow:—

Springfield—John Hooker, Chauncey Brewer, Justin Lombard, Joseph Pease; Northampton—Joseph Lyman, Isaac Clark, Elijah H. Mills, Lewis Strong; Hadley—Charles Phelps, Samuel Porter; Hatfield—Isaac Maltby, Israel Billings; Deerfield—Ephraim Williams, Epaphras Hoit, Pliny Arms; Sunderland—Simeon Ballard; Blandford—Jedediah Smith, Alanson Knox; Pelham—Isaac Abercrombie; Palmer—Amos

Hamilton, Alpheus Converse; Southampton—Luther Edwards, John Lyman; South Hadley—Mark Doolittle, Bezaleel Alvord; Greenfield—Richard E. Newcomb, Samuel Wells; New Salem—Samuel C. Allen; Montague—Henry Wells; Granville—David Curtis; Greenwich—Robert Field, Joseph Williams; Amherst—Ebenezer Mattoon, Samuel F. Dickinson, Simeon Strong; Monson—Deodatus Dutton; Belchertown—Joseph Bridgman, Justus Forward, Phineas Blair; Colerain—John Drury; Shutesbury—William Ward; Ware—William Paige; Chesterfield—Asa White, Spencer Phelps; South Brimfield—Darius Munger; Warwick—Caleb Mayo; Wilbraham—Robert Sessions, Aaron Woodward; Ashfield—Henry Bassett; Charlemont—Stephen Bates; Chester—Asahel Wright: Conway—Elisha Billings, John Bannister; Granby—Eli Dickinson, Levi Smith; Shelburne—William Wells; Worthington—Ezra Starkweather, Jonathan Brewster; Whately—Phineas Frary; Williamsburg—William Bodman, John Wells; Norwich—William Fobes, Jesse Joy; Westhampton—Sylvester Judd, Aaron Fisher, Jonathan Clarke; Buckland—Levi White; Cummington—Peter Bryant; Montgomery—Edward Taylor; Wendell—Joshua Green; Goshen—Oliver Taylor; Middlefield—Erastus Ingham; Rowe—John Wells; Heath—Roger Leavitt; Hawley—Thomas Longley; Gill—Gilbert Stacy; Plainfield—Nehemiah Joy; Easthampton—Thaddeus Clapp; Holland—John Polley; Tolland—Eleazer Slocomb. The irregular delegates were Rufus Stratton from Northfield, Hezekiah Newcomb and Caleb Chapin from Bernardston, Peletiah Bliss and Timothy Burbank from West Springfield, and Rufus Graves from Leverett.

In all, there were 88 delegates, composed of the best and most influential citizens in the three counties, many of whom were in high civil and military office. The convention organized by the choice of John Hooker of Springfield for President, and Isaac C. Bates of Northampton for Secretary. The proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Williams of Northampton. An address to the people, previously issued by the anti-war minority in Congress, was then read, when Elijah H. Mills, Ephraim Williams, Lewis Strong, Samuel Hills, Joseph Lyman, Ezra Starkweather, John Hooker, Samuel C. Allen, and Samuel F. Dickinson were appointed a committee to report in regard to the proper action of the Convention, concerning public affairs, after which the Convention adjourned until the 15th. On that day, the Committee reported that it was expedient to present a respectful memorial to the President of the United States, praying that Commissioners might be forthwith appointed to negotiate a peace with Great Britain, upon safe and honorable terms, and a memorial to that effect was therewith submitted, with a series of resolutions for the consideration of the Convention. The Committee also reported that it was expedient to appoint four delegates from each county, to meet in State Convention, provided the measure should be adopted in other parts of the Commonwealth, and, also, that Committees of Safety and Correspondence be appointed in each County, and that it be recommended to each town to choose similar Committees, in its corporate capacity. The entire report, with a few amendments of the memorial, was adopted, and the Committees recommended were appointed. The following were chosen delegates to the State Convention from

Hampden—William Shepard, George Bliss, Samuel Lathrop and Amos Hamilton.

Hampshire—Joseph Lyman, Eli P. Ashmun, William Bodman, and Samuel F. Dickinson.

Franklin—Ephraim Williams, Richard E. Newcomb, Rufus Graves and Roger Leavitt.

The Committees of Safety and Correspondence were, for *Hampden*, Jacob Bliss, John Hooker, Oliver B. Morris and Jonathan Dwight Jr.; for *Hampshire*, Jonathan H. Lyman, Lewis Strong, Isaac C. Bates and William Edwards; for *Franklin*, Jonathan Leavitt, Samuel Wells, Elijah Alvord 2d, and George Grennell Jr.

At the time of holding this Convention, Caleb Strong of Northampton was Governor of Massachusetts. That the memorial and the resolutions adopted represented his views, is to be presumed,—a presumption receiving additional force from the fact that Lewis Strong, his son, was a member of the Committee that reported them, and had the credit of being the able author of the memorial. By condensation of the expression of opinion and sentiment contained in these documents, it is proposed to exhibit the Massachusetts view of the war, and to develop such facts of importance in connection with it as may be deemed desirable.

The memorial claims to represent to the President the views of 80,000 souls, that being the aggregate constituency of the Convention. It declares that it is requisite to the proper administration of the Government that it be guided and governed in its operations by public opinion, in its deliberate voice upon subjects correctly understood and appreciated by the popular mind, and that the "substitutes and agents" of the people in public office should give that opinion heed. A common interest, the memorialists declare, was the basis of the federal Union, and whenever any section should consider its own interests sacrificed, to aid the ambition, or appease the jealousies of another, it was not to be concealed that the indulgence in those feelings which partial measures were calculated to produce would endanger the Union.

Having premised thus much, and more of like bearing, the memorialists state that, for many years after the establishment of the present government, the prosperity and happiness of the people were great beyond example, but since the attempts on the part of the Government, in 1807, to protect commerce by withdrawing it from the ocean, enterprise had lost its activity and labor its hope of reward, until, such was the commercial distress in New England, that the people had come to regard their rulers rather as enemies than friends. They endorsed the address of the Congressional minority, and said that it was not necessary for them to go over, in detail, the ground covered by that document, to prove the war to be "neither just, necessary nor expedient." In reference to the Berlin and Milan Decrees, they say that those decrees were alleged to have been repealed in November, 1810, but Great Britain, in justification of her refusal to withdraw her Orders in Council, had invariably considered the promise of repeal, made in the month of August preceding, as dependent on the determination of the American Government to cause its rights to be respected, by the commencement of hostilities against the English. In vain did the people of the Union wait, for more than eighteen months, to see the repealing decree, and they did not see it until within thirty days after the declaration of war, when it appeared, bearing the date of April, 1811, (more than a year previous to its formal promulgation) notwithstanding that, in the meantime, the existence of those decrees in full force was demonstrated by the indiscriminate capture of American property by the French, and by the fact that French ministerial officers were in total ignorance of their revocation. In brief, the memorialists regarded the alleged repeal of the French decrees, before the declaration of war, as a mere pretense,—as a deception in which our own and the French Governments were complicated, and in which the American Government had become the tool of France, for embarrassing the affairs and crippling the power of England, with which power there would not have been the slightest pretense for war, had France really repealed her decrees, as England had agreed to withdraw her Orders in Council when those decrees should be revoked.

The memorial then states the conviction of the Convention that measures should immediately be taken, in the event of the repeal of the British Orders in Council, [an event early realized] to bring the war, in its infancy, to an honorable termination, and that a persistence in hostilities, after the removal of that, the only leading and recent ground of war against Great Britain, would be viewed as deeply alarming to the liberties and independence of the United States. Whatever course Great Britain might pursue, in consequence of the fraudulent attempt that had been made to bind America to the cause of France, they did not consider the war as required by the interest, security or honor of the American people. "If war has been declared to cleanse the honor of the Government, should not that power have been selected, as our enemy, which inflicted the stain? which, while it has declared the Americans to be 'more dependant than Jamaica, which, at least, has its Assembly of Representatives and its privileges,' has practically expressed her contempt of our Government, and her disregard of National law, by seizing, scuttling and burning our merchant vessels, without even the forms of regular adjudication?" The memorialists could not see how affairs were to be mended, even if Great Britain had given cause for war, by the necessary change of impressment for imprisonment, and unauthorized for authorized seizure of American ships and merchandise. They closed by a prayer to the President that Commissioners might be forthwith appointed, on the part of the Government, to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain, on safe, just and honorable terms.

The resolutions passed by the Convention cover the entire ground represented in the memorial, and descend still further into particulars. They accuse the Government of studiously deviating from the course pursued by Washington in intercourse with foreign nations, of prostituting the national character and sacrificing vital interests, of partiality for one nation and hostility to another, wholly inconsistent with the maintenance of an honorable neutrality, of aggravating and emblazoning the wrongs received from Great Britain, and palliating and concealing those committed by France, and of declaring an unjust and unnecessary war, in opposition to the opinions, wishes and interests of a vast majority of the commercial States. They deprecated, "as the vengeance of Heaven," an alliance with the Emperor of France, renounced further confidence in rulers who had abused their trust, declared that they had yet to learn that Congress had any power for calling out the militia, except "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions," and that the Convention had no knowledge of any opposition to the laws, the existence of any insurrection, or of any actual or impending invasion. The last resolution, of the twenty-one adopted, is quoted entire:

> "That, although we do not consider ourselves bound, voluntarily, to aid in the prosecution of an offensive war, which we believe to be neither just, necessary nor expedient, we will submit, like good citizens, to the requisitions of the Constitution, and promptly repel all hostile attacks upon our country. That, collecting fortitude from the perils of the crisis, and appealing to the searcher of hearts for the purity of our motives, we will exert ourselves, by all constitutional means, to avert the dangers which surround us; and that, while we discountenance all forcible opposition to the laws, we will expose ourselves to every hazard and every sacrifice to prevent a ruinous alliance with the tyrant of France, to restore a speedy, just and honorable peace, to preserve inviolate the Union of the States, in the true spirit of the Constitution, and to perpetuate the safety, honor and liberties of our country."

The authorities of the United States and the Government of Massachusetts came early in collision. Governor Strong was disposed to a strict construction of the Constitution, and as he, like the Northampton Convention, could not see in the occasion any laws of the Union to be executed, insurrections to be suppressed, or invasions to be repelled, he declined accession to the requisition made for Massachusetts troops, to be placed at the command of the President. His refusal involved grave questions touching the power of the federal Government to call out the militia of the States, to decide on the exigency for calling them into service, and to place them in command of United States officers after they were called out. In all these points, Governor Strong was opposed to the President, and was supported in his position by the written opinion of the Supreme Court of the State; and thus, the federal party, the strongest at first in the advocacy of the concentration of power in the federal head, became the first to oppose what was deemed a usurpation of the rights of the State. The Governor did not believe that the mere act of declaring war, on the part of the President of the United States, gave him any right to call the militia of the several States into service. During the year, therefore, the militia of Massachusetts remained unemployed, though they were directed to hold themselves in readiness to repel invasion of the territory of the State.

With the exception of the purchase of fourteen acres of land at Pittsfield, by the U. S. Government, on which to erect barracks and a hospital for the troops, no event of importance in connection with the war occurred in Western Massachusetts, until a call for troops was issued by Governor Strong, in the Autumn of 1814. At this time, England had become, in a measure, released from the pressures of war at home, and, with a large disposable force at her command, she blockaded (on paper) the whole Atlantic coast of the United States, and declared her intention to lay waste the whole coast, from Maine to Georgia. On the 1st of September, the British forces took peaceable possession of Castine, on the Penobscot, then within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

The U. S. troops being withdrawn from the coast, and an invasion apprehended, the Governor made a requisition for troops, to be draughted from the militia companies in the State, with orders to march to Boston. One regiment of infantry was made up from the companies in the Northern part of old Hampshire County, under the command of

Col. Thomas Longley of Hawley. A regiment of infantry also went from the Southern part of old Hampshire, under the command of Col. Enos Foot of Southwick. A regiment of artillery was also made up within the old County bounds, consisting of an entire company from Springfield, under Capt. Quartus Stebbins, another company from Northampton under Capt. Asahel Strong, one from Belchertown under Capt. Bridgman, and one from Northfield, under Capt. Mattoon, the regiment being under the command of Col. William Edwards. An entire regiment of infantry went from Berkshire. The higher officers of the Western Massachusetts troops were Major General Whiton of New Marlborough, in Berkshire County, whose aids were Col. Henry W. Dwight of Stockbridge, and Col. Sloane of Lanesborough; and Brigadier General Jacob Bliss of Springfield. The troops marched about the middle of October. The Springfield artillery left on a Sabbath morning; and the prayer offered by Rev. Dr. Osgood, then young in his pastoral office, in the presence of the troops, before they left, is still fresh in the memories of no inconsiderable number of the citizens of the town.

On the arrival of the troops at Boston, the regiments from the river counties were stationed at Dorchester, on the spot then known as Commercial Point, and the Berkshire regiment, between which and its neighbors there was no great cordiality of feeling, was stationed at Cambridgeport. They spent some forty days in camp, had an extremely pleasant time, were reviewed by the Governor on the Common, and then were dismissed to their homes; and thus ended what was known, in the language of the day, as "Governor Strong's war."

The famous Hartford Convention assembled on the 15th of the following December. It consisted of twelve delegates appointed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, seven by the Legislature of Connecticut, and four by that of Rhode Island, with one from Vermont and two from New Hampshire, who appeared as delegates appointed by local Conventions. The delegates from Western Massachusetts were George Bliss of Springfield and Joseph Lyman of Northampton. The body was one of the most respectable, in the points of talent, acquirements, patriotism, statesmanship and high moral and social worth, ever assembled, on any occasion, within the United States. Congress, immediately after the adjournment of the Convention, passed a law which was signed by the President, following out, to the letter, its principal recommendations, which recommendations accorded fully with the principles and policy on which Gov. Strong had acted from the first. The recommendations of the Convention were that the States take measures to protect their citizens from "forcible draughts, conscriptions or impressments, not authorized by the Constitution of the United States," and that an earnest application be made to the General Government, requesting its consent to some arrangement whereby the States separately, or in concert, might assume upon themselves the defense of their territory against the enemy; and that a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within the State might be appropriated to that object. The law passed by Congress, three weeks afterwards, authorized and required the President to "receive into the service of the United States any corps of troops which may have been, or may be, raised, organized and *officered* under the authority of any of the States, to be employed in the State raising the same, or an adjoining State, *and not elsewhere except with the consent of the executive of the State raising the same*." The treaty of peace, which had already been signed at Ghent, and which arrived soon after the passage of the law, put a stop to all further proceedings, and the second war with England was at an end.

With the close of this war, it is proposed to conclude the outline history of Western Massachusetts, which has been extended over a period of nearly one hundred and eighty years. We have seen the little prayerful band of pilgrims from Roxbury, as they planted their feet and fortunes in the Connecticut Valley when that "Eden was a wild;" we have seen them establishing their plantations along the banks of the stream, and building their forts and their churches; we have witnessed that long scene of fear and blood through which they passed, in their struggle with perfidious native tribes; we have seen the savage life of the region fade away to blank extinction, as in a dissolving view, before the advancing scene of civilization; we have marked the tide of emigration as it flowed Westward, across the mountains, into the valley of the Housatonic, and swelled Northward among the rivulets and hills of that region; the scenes of the series of French and Indian wars, with all their doubts and dangers, their trials and conflicts, have passed before us, followed by that long and glorious struggle which terminated in National independence; we have beheld the wild excitements of civil discord, the peaceful labors of enterprise, and the unwelcome front of war again looming in the prospect, to mar the work of bloody and toilsome years, yet everywhere, among all these features, we have seen the angel of progress, sometimes soaring—often bound—always hoping, and never despairing, moving joyously, or smiling encouragingly, and pointing onward. The venerable shades of our fathers have been summoned before us. We have seen them as they knelt in prayer by their rude hearth-stones, and sung their godly hymns in their cheerless sanctuaries; we have seen them in their tireless watches and border-wars,—brave, indomitable, patient, enduring, daring and dying. We have watched them in their daily life—honest, upright, uncompromising, noble and generous men—who loved God, hated the devil, and feared not the face of man. We have seen them as they fell, and worthy sons, our fathers still, strode sturdily on in the path made sacred by their footsteps.

But this moving panorama of life and event has not been the pastime of an idle evening. The present age is painted upon the same canvas, which is rolling still, and waiting only the index of a future delineator. The present is bound to the past by its very existence, and the highway of progress in which the generation of to-day walk, is but the continuation of the first path trod by pilgrim feet. The past is *our* past. Its noble lessons, its high experience, its glories and its honors are ours by legitimate inheritance; and, while we exult in them and are proud of them, we should poorly do them honor did we fail to recognize and act upon the principles from which they sprung. History is but the demonstrator of Christianity and the register of Providence, and could the shades of those who have gone before, return to the scene of their former toils and trials, they would see, (what they have already seen in a brighter light,) in the churches, the schools, the railways, the manufactories, the fertile valleys and hills, and, above all, in the prosperity and happiness of an educated and progressive community, such an explanation and justification of all their adversities and afflictions, as would crown their kingly old faith with a never dying joy. With a vision thus informed, there would not be a page of their history on which they could not see the print of God's finger, and not a leaf—even the most bloody—that was not illuminated by the seal of providential mercy. For they would see that to-day is but the child of yesterday,—that the present is but the daughter of the past, and that pain is only, though evermore, the incident of maternity. They would see that the wealth of blessings enjoyed by their large posterity is, in God's great economy, but the legitimate result of the trials they endured, the toils they sustained, the blood they shed, and the painful struggles they put forth; and that, without those sacrifices, there now would be effeminacy in the place of manhood, darkness in the place of light, vice in the place of virtue, poverty in the place of prosperity, and contempt for God and Christianity where now, even Sabbath silence is eloquent with the language of honor and veneration.

What the fathers would thus see, every true son cannot fail to see, and seeing, he cannot but do honor to the memory of the past by adding to its glories, day by day, and thus blessing the future with a past in harmony with itself. Each man's thread of life forms a portion of the warp of history, and as the shuttles of the flying days throw across it their woof of circumstance, event, influence, interest, love and common weal, the fabric should grow stronger and more beautiful, until, when the end approaches, it shall be all gold, fit to form the crown of a Colossal Past, draped in the harmoniously descending folds of a history complete.

PART II.

THE GEOLOGY,
AGRICULTURE, RAILROADS, NEWSPAPERS,
AND
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
OF
WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE GEOLOGY OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

IN looking at the geology of Western Massachusetts, we at once divide it into two portions, as has been done in the outline history—that of the Connecticut Valley, and Berkshire County. This seems a natural division, since the geological characteristics of each are so decidedly different, and since the mineral products are so much more extensive in the one than in the other. But this is not absolutely correct; for in neither of these sections can we fail to find objects of scientific interest, and in each are found mines, quarries, and other mineral products, of no small value and extent. Instead, therefore, of adopting this more comprehensive and general plan, it is proposed to substitute one which will bring to notice the more interesting facts in a concise form, and one more easily understood. This is as follows:

First.—AN OUTLINE OF THE GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS IN THIS PART OF THE STATE.

Second.—THEORETICAL GEOLOGY.

Third.—MATTERS OF ECONOMICAL VALUE.

Fourth.—PLACES OF SCENOGRAPHICAL BEAUTY AND SUBLIMITY.

The prevailing and almost the only rock found in the Eastern portions of Franklin, Hampshire and Hampden counties, is the *Gneiss*, or, as it is sometimes wrongly called, Granite. This, in its composition, is the same as Granite, although the arrangement of its ingredients is quite different; they being arranged in strata, or layers, in Gneiss, while they are confusedly mixed together in Granite. Its color is generally a light gray, although, at one locality, in this valley, it has a peculiar reddish tint. Examples of this kind of rock, which is very much used as a building material, may be seen in the so-called "Monson Granite," in the new Library Building at Amherst College, or in the piers of the railroad bridge over the Deerfield river, in the town of Deerfield. The quarries of the

Monson stone are mostly in the town of Monson, although formerly it was dug to some extent in Palmer. That of which the Amherst College Library Building is constructed, was found at Pelham, where it exists in great quantities, and of a most excellent quality. But that of which the Connecticut River railroad bridge at Deerfield is built, was quarried at Northfield, which, it is safe to predict, will be in great demand when the taste and means to construct stone edifices in greater abundance than at present shall require its use. This rock is found in great abundance in the central portions of Massachusetts, and is really a beautiful building stone, which cannot fail to attract the eye of an ordinary observer, if it be merely in the fresh surfaces that are exposed in a newly-laid stone fence.

The most plausible theory proposed to account for the formation of this rock, is, that it is a metamorphic rock, or, in other words, one that has been altered or changed from another condition, by heat. This supposes that the Gneiss was originally deposited as a sand-stone—of course, much earlier than the now existing sand-stone of the Connecticut Valley—which contained fossils, both animals and plants, but which, owing to an intense heat, has been so nearly melted as to destroy its organic remains, but not all marks of stratification. And this, cooling from such a temperature, and under so great pressure, would, when completely cooled down, become a crystalline, instead of a sedimentary rock. We find the Gneiss as far West as the towns which constitute the proper Eastern boundary of the Connecticut valley, and then we lose sight of it, until we have passed fairly to the Western border of this valley, when it again appears. The width of this valley, interposed between the walls of the Gneiss, is from fifteen to twenty miles,—the nearest portions being between Wilbraham and Granville, which are about twenty miles apart.

If we follow the general direction of the Connecticut River through Massachusetts, and allow a space of from four to eight miles on each side of the river through its whole course, save from Northfield into New Hampshire, where the width is not more than one mile—we shall have a very general outline of the area occupied by the *New Red Sand-stone Formation.* The average thickness of this formation is fourteen thousand feet, being four thousand more than at the mouth of Miller's river, where it has been lately measured by President Hitchcock. It is, for the most part, of a dark, red color, is stratified, and consists in some places of fine sand hardened into rock, and in others of coarse gravel and boulders, with a diameter of four feet, as may be seen in many places through the whole valley, but especially at a place a few miles South of the village of Montague. It is also of a much later age than the Gneiss, and was probably entirely deposited from water, while the Gneiss belongs to the class of metamorphic rocks, as already mentioned.

Although the new red sandstone of the Connecticut Valley has been, and still is, regarded by most Geologists as only one distinct formation, yet recent researches are leading others to adopt the opinion that it is made up of at least two formations, as they are regarded by European Geologists. These are the Permian and Triassic, and possibly the Carboniferous Systems. If this is the case, then the lowest portion of the sandstone—about 7000 feet—constitutes the Permian or Carboniferous system, while the remainder very nearly resembles the Triassic as found in Europe. The reasons for this division, are, from the fact that the beds of the lowest sand-stones are overlaid by the Trap, and are composed, for the most part, of very coarse materials derived from other rocks, as may be seen in Gill, Mt. Mettawampe, the mouth of Miller's River, and Durham, Ct. The upper part is distinguished by the predominance of very fine ingredients, making what are denominated shales, and these of the colors black, red, and gray, and even almost white; and in this portion of the sandstone are found the tracks and other fossils. It is, however, still a matter of doubt whether this division be a correct one, since during the last summer the writer has discovered in the sandstone of this valley, a fossil plant, a species of clathropteris—perhaps a new one—which is described as a characteristic fossil of the *Lias Sandstone* of Europe. If this be the case, then it is possible that, after all, the sand-stone of this valley may yet be classed as high up in the series as the Lias, which lies immediately above the Trias.

The sand-stone of the Connecticut Valley is considerably used as a building material, both on account of its durability, and the fact that it is worked with more ease than Granite or Gneiss. It is also interesting and important to know, that it works very much easier when it is frozen quite hard. The quality of this rock, that at present has been found in Massachusetts, is for the most part of too coarse a nature to be used in ornamental structures, and is used mainly in constructing foundations for buildings and heavy masonry. Some qualities, however, such as the rock that is dug at a quarry in Easthampton, have been hammered, and used as window caps, water tables, and rustics, which show that this rock is not only a durable stone, but also a very handsome one. But in Portland, Ct., this stone is quarried to an immense extent, and sent to the principal cities of this country, to be used both as an ornamental and useful building material; and so soft and easily worked is it, that, when designed for elegant edifices, it is, by a curious machine, as easily brought to a smooth and even surface, as marble may be, by the tedious process of sawing and coarse polishing. These interesting machines will well repay a visit to any of the stone-dressing yards in New York city.

But, although we now can find no quarries of this rock of the finest quality in this part of the Connecticut Valley, we do not hesitate to predict that when Springfield and Holyoke shall have so increased as to demand this handsome rock for public and private buildings, abundant localities will be discovered, and that within a short distance from the cities where they will be needed. At present, the only localities where this rock is dug to any considerable extent, is one quarry at Easthampton, one on the Northeast side of Mt. Tom, from which immense quantities have been carried to Holyoke, and one at Longmeadow.

In the midst of the new red sand-stone, running in a Northerly and Southerly direction, there exists a very remarkable formation, quite interesting to the Geologist, although of but little practical value in this part of the country at the present time. This is the *Greenstone*, or, as it is more generally known, *Trap*, or Basalt. It consists, for the most part, of a somewhat interrupted range of hills or mountains, commencing at the Northern part of Massachusetts, and extending as far as New Haven, East and

West Rock being its most Southern place of appearance. This rock is mainly composed of crystals of Pyroxene, Feldspar, and Hornblende, is of a very dark color, and is often found of a columnar structure. It also has a peculiar ringing sound when a fragment of it is struck by the hammer, and is intensely hard, being one of the most difficult of all rocks to remove in railroad and other excavations. As yet, no practical use is made of the Greenstone in portions of Massachusetts where it is found, probably because other rocks, which are sufficiently durable, are wrought at a much less expense, and are abundant. In other parts of the world, however, it is extensively used for macadamizing roads, and, to some extent, for buildings; an instance of which is an Episcopal church in New Haven, Conn.

If, now, we construct upon the map of the State, a triangle, with a base of a portion of the Northern boundary of Massachusetts, from the Western boundary of Monroe to the center of Bernardston, and its opposite angle in the South-eastern corner of Granville, we shall inclose the greater portion of the *Mica Slate* in the Western part of Massachusetts, as well as a belt of Talcose Slate, running from Rowe, in a Southerly direction, as far as the Southwest part of Chester. Mica Slate is composed of Mica and Quartz, the former predominating, and giving to it a glistening appearance, while the quartz acts the part of a base, or ground work, in the composition. It is for the most part of a dark gray or brown color, and frequently studded with crystals of Garnet, and Staurotide, to such an extent that varieties of it are named garnetiferous and staurotidiferous slate. Its hardness is below that of Granite and Syenite, and yet it is but little affected by the atmosphere, water, or frost. No great use is made of it for building, save the heavy work on railroad piers and embankments, as well as ordinary foundations. It is of considerable use, however, as a flagging stone, and especially so, since slabs of it fifteen feet square may be easily quarried. The great facility of getting out these stones, is mainly owing to the position of the strata—nearly vertical. Hence the method of quarrying them consists simply in laying bare as large a surface of the rock as desirable, and then driving wedges between two adjacent strata, over as large a surface as the size of the slab requires.

The *Talcose Slate*—the boundaries of which have already been given—is not found in so great abundance as the Mica Slate, although it extends more than half way across the State in a Northerly and Southerly direction, with a width of about four miles. It is composed of talc, mixed with quartz, and mica, and sometimes hornblende, and is generally softer than mica slate. The color is ordinarily a light gray, and in the United States, is usually associated with mica slate, though rarely with gneiss. This rock is of but little practical value, save in wide stone walls and foundations, although the softer varieties answer very well for ordinary fire stones, such as the linings for common furnaces, and the sides of blacksmiths' forges.

The bed of Gneiss lying West of the Connecticut River may be easily, though imperfectly, pointed out, by another triangle, having for its base the Southern boundary of Massachusetts, from Sheffield to the Eastern limit of Southwick, and its apex at the Northwestern part of Florida.

In the remaining towns in the Western part of Massachusetts, are found no less than three distinct geological formations, the Quartz, Talcose Slate, and Limestone, together with some small amounts of Mica Slate, Gneiss, and Alluvial. Of these, however, the Limestone is the most important and abundant, occurring in every one of the towns mentioned, not excepting that extreme portion of Massachusetts, Boston Corner—which has limestone for its foundation, being the continuation of a bed which extends from Connecticut into this State.

Limestone, which is composed of carbonic acid, pure Lime, and a small amount of Silica, is of various colors, from a pure white to a jet black, and is a stone very easily wrought, softer than any other building stone unless it be Soapstone, and very readily receives a high polish, which, for a long time, resists the action of air and water. In fact, it is one of the most durable of materials, since most of the very ancient temples and public buildings of the Greeks, Romans and Egyptians which still exist—as the pyramids of Egypt, the Parthenon, the temple of the Acropolis, and a multitude of others—are constructed of Limestone. And we cannot go through the cities of modern Europe without appreciating the importance of Limestone or Marble—for Marble is always Limestone, though Limestone is not always Marble—in the construction of buildings.

Another important use of this rock is to produce lime. This may be obtained from the poorest limestone by burning, or driving off the carbonic acid by heat, after which caustic lime remains—though usually contaminated more or less by Silica—for the various purposes of cement, a cleansing agent, a fertilizer of soils, &c. So that, when we know the multitude of purposes for which it is used, we no longer have cause to wonder why the Creator has formed one-seventh of the earth's crust of this material.

In these same towns we also have valuable beds of *Iron*—the hematite ore, a hydrous peroxyd—which, in all probability, is derived from the Limestone, though it is now regarded as belonging to the Tertiary. These beds are of no inconsiderable extent, as may be seen when we find that they extend—with some interruptions—from Canada to Alabama, although they are the most productive in Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. Their value is also very great, and has much increased within a few years, since the means of transportation by railroad are now so extensively employed in that section of country.

The *Quartz Formation* exists in greater abundance in Berkshire County than in any other part of Massachusetts. It occurs in this place associated with Mica Slate, although in other places in this State in company with Gneiss, and Argillaceous Slate. For the most part it is of a very light color—nearly white—and generally of an arenaceous or granular character, though sometimes it is found somewhat stratified. It is very hard, but can be much more readily drilled than the Trap, and, of course, more readily removed in excavations. Almost the only use, of any special importance, that is made of this rock, is to form fire-stones, which are much more durable than those of Talcose Slate. Some varieties are used as hearths in Iron Furnaces, which require the very best of this article, since nearly every kind gives way, or crumbles, by the very intense heat.

Serpentine is another formation that deserves a passing notice, at least. This is "a mottled rock, the predominant color green, and containing about forty per cent. of magnesia." It generally occurs in connection with hornblende slate, and in many of the largest soapstone quarries in New England, is found immediately above or below the soapstone. In some places, it bears marks of stratification, and hence is regarded as one of the metamorphic rocks. Serpentine has been quarried and worked to some extent as an ornamental rock for mantles, table and counter tops, and other similar uses. Its hardness is from 3 to 4, while marble is from 2 to 3; but, as it receives an excellent polish, and is more enduring than marble, it fully compensates for its greater hardness and difficulty of working. At Cavendish—Proctorsville—Vt., this rock was once quarried, and the business of polishing carried on to a considerable extent, and for a time it was in very good repute; but, for several years, the quarries have lain unworked, the mill gone to decay, and the property all disposed of for a mere trifle, owing to the slight demand for the material. But it is impossible to see why this stone is not extensively used for ornamental purposes, for surely it is of a much richer color, and far more attractive than many kinds of marble, which are used for the same purposes. And it is no vain prediction to assert that, sooner or later, it will be used, not merely as a fancy stone to please the eye when polished and carefully wrought, but also as a substantial rock for many economical purposes. It is also possible that a caution of some value may be suggested to those who have beds of this rock in their possession, and that is, not to dispose of, or rent, any quarries of Serpentine at too cheap a rate, merely because heretofore it has not been worked at an advantage and with profit.

Besides the formations just described, we find several others on the Geological Map of Western Massachusetts, although most of them are of small extent, and of but little economical importance. With the exception of soapstone and argillaceous slate, to be mentioned in another place, the formation *Alluvium* will be the only other one mentioned here. This we are familiar with, as loam, or rich, fertile soil. It lies above all the other formations, and hence it is the most recent of all the rocks belonging to the Historic Period of Geology. Alluvium exists in several places along the banks of the larger rivers, producing the splendid meadows of Hadley, Northampton, Deerfield, Sheffield, Great Barrington and Stockbridge. In most cases, these have been produced by the deposition of fine mud and vegetable mould, at the bottom of some large pond or lake, which once stood over what are now these meadows, but which was drained by the breaking away of some barrier, or the rise of the continent by some mighty upheaval.

THEORETICAL GEOLOGY.

Among the various objects of scientific interest in the Western part of Massachusetts, *The changes which the Connecticut Valley has undergone during its formation*, occupy an important place. Far back in Geological periods, (for the Geologist can assign dates only by periods, and not by single years,) this valley was only a long and narrow estuary, extending from the Southern part of Connecticut, to the Northern part of Massachusetts, with an average width of eight miles. At that time, this part of the continent, at least, was more under the ocean than at present—for, otherwise, we cannot see how the ocean could flow inland so far—and probably the ocean gradually withdrew, or the continent arose, during the deposition of the whole of the sandstone. The bottom and the shores of this estuary were mostly made up of the non-fossiliferous rocks—gneiss, and mica slate, the former making the Eastern shore, and the latter the Western, while both together made the floor or foundation, they dipping so as to meet deep beneath the sandstone. At this time, in the formation of the sandstone, the Trap, or Holyoke range, had not erupted, as we find it at a later period of this history.

The questions that now very naturally meet us, are: how was this immense bed of sandstone formed, from whence were the materials obtained, and how came they to be deposited to the depth of many thousand feet, in the well arranged order that we find them? Without doubt the time required to effect all this must have been immense; for the rock was probably formed by the slow wearing away of the surrounding non-fossiliferous rocks, by the action of frost, ice, and water, and carried by the streams into this quiet estuary, to be there deposited and ultimately hardened into the new red sandstone. This formation bears no evidence of any violent action—except in limited portions—such as that of glaciers, and icebergs, but was all produced by the bringing in of sand and gravel, by the agency of small streams and rivers, although some of its materials might have been made by former glaciers and icebergs.

Thus slowly went on the filling up of this valley. At one time, the shore was covered to some extent with vegetation; again, fishes swam in its waters, and left their bodies embalmed in the solid rock, to be the admiration of the Naturalist, and to adorn the shelves of public and private cabinets; while, at other periods, birds innumerable, grotesque and various in size, from the Brontozooum giganteum, whose stride was from three to six feet, to the Platyptenna delicatula, whose step was only three inches, peopled these shores, accompanied by Lizards and Batrachians, some of which, and especially one *biped frog*, could make a track more than twenty inches in length, while others were distinguished not so much by the size of the track, as by their peculiar shape; leaving the Naturalist to conjecture whether the animal which made it could be classed under the lizards, birds, or tortoises.

During the latter part of the period occupied in the deposition of the sandstone, another formation intruded itself, and that, not by the means of quiet deposition from water, but through the agency of intense heat, assisted by an immense earthquake, or a mighty volcanic eruption. This was the formation of the Trap, exhibiting itself in mural precipices, but not a continuous range of hills, from Northfield, Massachusetts, to New Haven, Ct. It is a difficult question to decide whether this was the lava, or melted matter, ejected by some mighty eruption, of which the outlet was an immense fissure, extending the whole length of this formation, or whether it was melted rock, spread out under the ocean, which was erupted in some other manner, and from some different crater, or outlet. There are one or two localities, however, which, by the peculiar character of the rock, seem conclusively to show, that it was formed by melted matter, poured out under water, upon the sandstone. An example of this peculiar kind of rock, which is termed "volcanic grit," may be seen near the Northeastern part of Mt. Tom, and close by the Connecticut River railroad, which is precisely the same product that we should expect, were we to pour a mass of melted rock upon sandstone under water, which did not entirely melt the pebbles, and coarse grains of sand.

The general direction of the strata of the Connecticut River sandstone, is Northeast, and Southwest, with a dip varying from 20 to 50 deg. East, in its Northern portions. The dip of the whole formation, also, is found to be at a much higher angle on the Western, than the Eastern side of the valley. The question, then, that naturally forces itself upon us, is: what has produced any inclination in these strata, and why is the greater dip on the Western side? It has already been mentioned that the mica slate on the West, and the gneiss on the East, dip under the sandstone, and probably meet beneath it, somewhere near the middle of the formation. It is also found that the mica slate dips under the sandstone at a greater angle than does the gneiss on the opposite side. If, now, it can be supposed—as some maintain—that the sandstone might have been deposited upon the mica slate as it now exists,—a steep inclined plane—then it is easy to see, that this estuary which has been mentioned, could deposit its sand and mud upon this non-fossiliferous rock, (which dips at an angle ranging from 45 to 90 deg.) though at a smaller angle than the mica slate, as is found to be the case when the dip has been measured., Were this the true state of the case, why should we not also find the sandstone on the Eastern side dipping Westerly, although it would be at a much smaller angle? A more plausible theory supposes that at the period of the deposition of the sandstone, the mica slate and gneiss were much more nearly horizontal in their layers than at present, and after the whole formation was deposited, some powerful agency, acting, for the most part, from the West, bent upwards the mica slate and the sandstone, which produced the Easterly dip. This theory derives strength from the fact that we have evidence of some mighty power, which has acted either Easterly or Westerly, or possibly in both directions through the whole of the United States, forming an immense plication or folded axis of all the strata, being the greatest part of the Apalachian chain of Mountains, which run in a Northeasertly and Southwesterly direction through the Eastern portion of the

United States. Since, then, we have evidence that some mighty power has acted in the Western part of Massachusetts, with such lateral force as to double the strata upon themselves, and form the Green Mountain range, may we not plainly infer that the Eastern dip of the mica slate and sandstone was effected by the same cause? And especially does this seem probable, when we know that the strike, or direction of the strata of both these rocks, is the same as the general direction of the Apalachian chain.

If we have thus far intelligibly explained some of the earlier important changes that have taken place in this valley, we now come to consider another of its great changes, which has occurred subsequently to those already mentioned. This is one that has, geologically speaking, taken place very recently, although ages before man begun his existence on the earth. At that time, instead of a valley, such as now exists, the sandstone filled up this whole area, at least to the present height of Mt. Mettawampe and Sugar Loaf, while the hills of Pelham and Leverett on the one hand, and Chesterfield on the other, only slightly lifted themselves up, to show the limits of this valley, as it exists at the present time. At the same time, the Northern part of this continent was covered with water to the depth of about five thousand feet, as is seen by the grooves and markings on the rocks of the White Mountains; they being visible up to the hight of about five thousand feet, but no higher, thus making at that time, the summit of Mt. Washington, a solitary island in the midst of this immense ocean of ice and water. About the same time, probably by a change in the climate, this ocean was almost entirely converted into ice, or, at least, so large a portion of it, that immense icebergs and glaciers were formed, which were swept over the surface by a power which as yet is unaccounted for, grinding and rasping it up, and urging forward the fragments. This force acted almost without exception in a direction from North to South, as is proved by the marks and striæ found on most of the rocks of this valley, which do not readily decompose by exposure to the air and moisture, and also because we find the Northern sides of all the hills and mountains in New England—with a very few exceptions—rounded and smoothed, while the Southern slopes are generally more or less uneven, or, as they would appear, had no such agency acted upon them since their original formation.

Thus, then, it probably was, that the whole of this valley was hollowed out, and prepared for the residence of man. For years, decades, and ages, this force must have progressed—tearing, grinding, and pulverizing the solid rocks, until it had smoothed away some of the rugged hills, and covered them, as well as filled up the valleys, with a soil upon which might live the last and most perfect creation of vegetable and animal existence.

But Mt. Holyoke and its range of hills effectually resisted this violence. They seemed to exist as if in defiance of this power, (although they show symptoms of most tremendous grinding and wearing,) for their upper portions are made of that most invincible and unyielding of all rocks—the Trap—which Engineers always strive to their utmost to avoid, in making excavations for railroads and other public works.

The last geological change which has taken place in this valley (besides the ordinary action of water, frost and air, which are reckoned as geological changes,) previous to the existence of the present fauna and flora, was the emergence, and gradual rise of it, as well as a large part of this continent from the ocean. The evidence of such a change exists in the deposits of soil and sand beds in those places where we know they could not have been deposited by the drift agency, and, above all, by the beautiful alluvial terraces which we see upon the banks of many rivers, throughout the United States, which were probably produced by the wearing or bursting away of successive barriers, as the continent gradually arose from the ocean.

Another object of scientific interest may be found in *the foot-marks of the Connecticut Valley.* These are peculiarly interesting, since they open a new field in Geology, and lead to the establishment of great principles, which would appear incredible from so trivial and apparently unimportant circumstances. This interesting class of fossils is found in the upper portions of the sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, in nearly thirty localities, from the town of Gill in Massachusetts, to Middletown, Ct., a distance of eighty miles, and generally in localities near the river. They are almost always in the finer qualities of the sandstone, and hence in the Trias, and in certain layers of the rock, several feet frequently intervening between these layers.

In a description of these foot-marks by President Hitchcock of Amherst, and published as a part of the proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for 1848, he reckoned forty-nine species as then discovered; but since that time six or eight new ones have been discovered, but not described, making in all, at present, about fifty-seven, which number will doubtless be greatly increased, as new quarries are opened, and their contents examined by other scientific inquirers on this subject.

Most of these tracks were made by birds, and hence the name given to this branch of Natural History when first brought to notice was *Ornithicnites*, or Bird Tracks. But further researches have shown that, although most of them were by birds, yet Quadrupeds, Frogs, and Salamanders, also left their indelible traces on the mud of the primeval Connecticut Valley, as well as other animals who made their footprints, to the great wonder and amazement of Naturalists, as to what division of the animal kingdom they could belong. An attempt to describe the animals who have immortalized themselves on the everlasting monuments of this valley, should be made only by one well acquainted with comparative anatomy; and yet, with little of the imaginative, and still less of the scientific, we may, with tolerable certainty, make out a description that will give us a general outline of the early inhabitants of this valley. This has already been done by Dr. Hitchcock, in his history of these footmarks:—

> "Now I have seen, in scientific vision, an apterous bird, some twelve or fifteen feet high—nay large flocks of them—walking over the muddy surface, followed by many others of an analogous character, but of smaller size. Next comes a biped animal, a bird, perhaps, with a foot and heel nearly two feet long. Then a host of lesser bipeds, formed on the same general type; and among them several quadrupeds with disproportioned feet, yet many of them stilted high, while others are crawling along the surface, with sprawling limbs. Next succeeds the huge *Polemarch*, leading along a tribe of lesser followers, with heels of great length, and armed with spurs. But the greatest wonder of all comes in the shape of a biped batrachian, with feet twenty inches long. We have heard of

the Labyrinthodon of Europe—a frog as large as an ox, but his feet were only six or eight inches long—a mere pigmy compared with the *Otozoum* of New England. Behind him there trips along, on unequal feet, a group of small lizards and *Salamandridæ*, with trifid, or quadrifid feet. Beyond, half seen amid the darkness, there move along animals so strange that they can hardly be brought within the types of existing organization. Strange, indeed, is this menagerie of remote sandstone days; and the privilege of gazing upon it, and of bringing into view one lost form after another, has been an ample recompense for my efforts, though they should be rewarded by no other fruit."

One or two very instructive lessons present themselves so strikingly upon a consideration of this subject, that it is impossible to forbear their mention. One is, *the value of trifles;* for what can seem of more trivial importance than the impression of a foot in mud, or wet sand, liable to be effaced by the smallest wave, or the pattering of a shower? And yet, these fossils aid us to arrive at conclusions which are of immense importance in deciding the position of the sandstone, and especially the upper portions of it, and also in fixing on the earliest period of the existence of birds on the earth. They also teach *humility*. For, while man has been striving, ever since he has had an existence, to write his name so indelibly that posterity may see and read it, these birds, these reptiles, nay these very *worms*, without even a thought, have left more enduring mementoes of themselves, than chisel could ever imprint upon marble, or monuments of brass and iron.

> "Reptiles and birds, a problem ye have solved
> Man never has—to leave a trace on earth
> Too deep for time and fate to wear away."

Of the fossils in Massachusetts, aside from the tracks in the Connecticut Valley, this State has but little to boast. And even the bones of the animals which made these tracks, as yet, are nowhere to be found, leaving quite an enigma to the geologist for solution. Several years ago, however, a few fossil bones were found in the sandstone, which were believed by those who saw them to be those of birds, but, before their characters were determined, by a sad accident they were lost, and naturalists are still in the same darkness with regard to them. It was reported, a few years since, while the dam was being constructed across the Connecticut at Holyoke, that a skeleton of a large animal was found in a tolerable state of preservation. But examination proved it to be only *ripple marks* instead of ribs—remains of old ocean on the sandy shores of this valley, and not of a saurian, one of its inhabitants. But, although the remains of birds and reptiles are so extremely rare—save in their tracks—yet the *Fishes* are left in a most perfect state of preservation. At Sunderland, Deerfield, Chicopee, West Springfield and South Hadley, these fossils have been found, in a black shale, which is, possibly, the Trias. And so closely do these specimens resemble similar fossils of a famous locality in Germany, that when some of our specimens were sent to European naturalists, they firmly believed that they must originally have been sent from Germany, and, either by accident or design, returned again across the ocean. But two genera as yet have been described, the Palæoniscus, and Eurynotus, of which Agassiz describes about a dozen species, although many more remain to be described. These fossils are very rare, not being even so abundant as the tracks, for unfortunately they have been found in but a few localities, and these have not been in quarries where the rock is dug out for economical purposes; and at Sunderland, the most productive locality, they occur on the banks of the river so low down in the strata, that they can be got out only at very low water. But, fortunately for science, a large amount of these fishes, as well as the tracks of this valley, were collected by the late Dexter Marsh of Greenfield, Mass., and these in the best state of preservation. This collection has been visited, during the few years past, by a great number of persons from different parts of this country, as well as from abroad. On account of the death of its proprietor, it was sold at auction in September, 1853, and hence distributed to various parts of the country, although mostly to public collections. The loss of this man to science was very great, since he combined in himself the rare qualities of a persevering and untiring laborer in whatever he undertook, a very respectable acquaintance with science for a man of his circumstances, and the skill to remove from the quarry, and prepare for examination, large slabs of rock containing tracks and fishes, which are the most difficult specimens to collect for a cabinet.

In the lower beds of the new red sandstone, a great abundance of marine vegetables has been discovered, and a few in the upper beds, along with the terrestrial plants. They are, however, mostly of that low type of the fucoids, which are only made out with considerable difficulty. One remarkable locality of large specimens of these plants, is in the Northern part of the village of Greenfield, where they may be found six or eight inches in diameter, and from five to six feet in length. These plants have not been studied very carefully, as yet, so that we may hope at some future time to have more perfect knowledge concerning them. At Bernardston, also, some marine fossils (animals) called Encrinites, have been discovered in a small bed of limestone, which throws important light upon the position of the bed, proving it metamorphic and comparatively recent, although lying beneath the sandstone.

The Western portion of Massachusetts is more abundantly supplied with minerals than with fossils, from the abundance of non-fossiliferous rocks in this quarter. They are, however, of no pecuniary value, excepting some of the ores, nor always the most splendid and attractive, although many of them are extremely rare. Of the valuable gems, we are not aware that this part of the State possesses any worthy of notice. In Worcester County, however, just over the line, in Royalston, we find small, but beautiful aqua-marine beryls, the locality being, in fact, one of the most interesting in the United States; and in Sturbridge, pyrope garnets are found in considerable quantities, some of which are of a most beautiful red, when handsomely cut, and set in gold. In this part of the State, however, quartz and agates are sometimes found in the Trap, which, when polished, make very handsome specimens for a cabinet, and it is possible that some of them have actually been used as gems. The town which is the most abundantly supplied with minerals in Western Massachusetts, is, without doubt, Chesterfield. This, it will be seen, by reference to the geological map, lies upon granite and mica slate, the minerals being found in the former. There are no less than seventeen different species of well characterized, and many of them rare species, found here, among which are blue and red tourmaline, rose beryl, garnet, smoky quartz, staurotide, spodumene, tin ore, columbite, and uranite.

In Goshen, also, which we shall see lies geologically in the same position as the last mentioned place, we find a large number of interesting species, most of which are the same as in Chesterfield—which we should expect from the similarity of the geological position. And, from the fact that tin has been found in these two localities, and in several others in the same vicinity, we do not at all hesitate to predict that, ultimately, this valuable metal will be found in the mica slate, or granite, which compose the matrix in many mines where it is now worked. The most noted tin mine in the world—at Cornwall, England—is worked in the granite.

At Southampton, in the workings carried on for lead, a large number of rare minerals have been found, most of which are ores of lead or some other metal, and the recent discovery of quite good crystals of fluor spar seems to give encouragement to pursue excavations for lead to a still greater extent, since, in mines of the older countries of Europe, this mineral is found in connection with lead in many instances. In the towns of Chester and Blandford, the chromite of iron is found in considerable quantities, from which the oxyd of chrome can be readily extracted. As this is used very extensively as a pigment, these localities will doubtless, in the future, yield no inconsiderable amount of profit to their owners.

At Norwich, some minerals have been found of excellence and rarity, and the locality is quite remarkable, as being the only one in the world where certain minerals are found crystalized. These minerals are the spodumene and triplite. They are not new species, but their crystalline form, which is a very important characteristic of minerals, could never before this be made out. When one of the spodumenes was shown to the curator of mineralogy in the British Museum, at London, he was at first incredulous as to its genuineness, thinking that its faces were fabricated by the saw, or emery wheel, though it was given him by a gentleman of strict integrity. These doubts, however, soon vanished, for, after giving it a careful examination, he was at once ready to make an offer of a guinea for the single crystal in the hands of the Professor. Both of these minerals are of a very ordinary appearance, and would not attract in the least, the eye of a common observer. It is much to be regretted that the locality is now nearly or quite exhausted; although it is reasonable to hope, that as the same rocks extend into adjoining towns, further examination may yet bring to light other localities of these interesting minerals.

The above mentioned localities are the most important in this portion of Massachusetts, although in at least one-half of these towns, one or more interesting species of minerals have been at one time or another described, the exact locality in many instances being unknown, or forgotten. But considering how small an amount of this territory has been carefully examined, we can at once imagine and hope for the acquisition, at some time, of a large amount of mineral wealth in this part of our State.

ECONOMICAL GEOLOGY.

The mineral products of Massachusetts are mainly Granite and Sienite, Marble and Iron. Besides these, however, Gneiss and Sandstone are quarried to a considerable extent, Coal is dug in one portion of the state, Lead promises an abundant quantity, Soapstone exists very abundantly, and Quartz, for fire stones and making glass, is found in considerable quantities. The Granite and Sienite are, in most instances, confounded together, in the popular understanding of them: as, for instance, the rock so generally known as Quincy Granite is, in geological terms, Sienite—differing from Granite by the absence of Hornblende, or the presence of mica in its place. These rocks occur, for the most part, in the Eastern portions of Massachusetts, although, as has already been mentioned, the Granite is found on the Western borders of the Connecticut Valley, and, without doubt, the stone will be worked as the demand for it increases.

One of the best quarries of *Granite* in Massachusetts is in Fitchburgh, of which the Fitchburgh Railroad Station House at Boston is built. Another of equally fine stone is at Chelmsford, of which the stone work of the addition to the Massachusetts State House is constructed. *Sienite* is quarried in many localities in Eastern Massachusetts, and, among them all, exists pre-eminently the quarry, or the sienitic mountains, of Quincy. The quantity which has been taken from this place is absolutely immense, and the locality cannot be exhausted for centuries to come. Examples of this rock will be found in abundance in nearly all the maritime cities of this country.

Coming to the Connecticut Valley, we find the *Gneiss* abundant, and of great beauty. This gneiss formation, extending from Monson through Pelham to the northern boundaries of the state, will, for an immense number of years, supply all the demands for this building stone throughout the whole country. And it may well be a matter of discussion among connoisseurs of architecture which shall be styled the handsomest building stone, the Granite and Sienite of Chelmsford and Quincy, or the Gneiss of Monson and Pelham.

One of the principal sources of mineral wealth in Western Massachusetts is *Limestone.* For it is this rock which produces the beautiful marble of Berkshire county, which is exported in such immense quantities, and the Lime, the supply of which can probably never fail.

The geological position is the same as the Limestone of Vermont, and a part of Connecticut, which extends from this latter state into Canada. Upon the origin, however, of the primary Limestone—of which these rocks are examples—much obscurity has always existed. But, from the fact that the skeletons and bony coverings of all classes of animals are composed, to a very large extent, of lime in some of its forms, Geologists are led to believe that this rock is of organic origin. This, however, could not be gained from the skeletons of the vertebrate animals, for they had not begun their existence at the period when Limestone was formed, but must have been derived from Polyparia, or coral animals, the same as those which now live in such infinite profusion in tropical seas, and construct the immense coral reefs in those bodies of water. If, then, after these immense coral islands and reefs were covered with soil to a great depth, or, by some mighty convulsion, sunk again beneath a deep ocean, they should be exposed to such an intense heat as to most thoroughly fuse them without losing the carbonic acid, we could easily account for the destruction of all traces of animal life, and the production of a perfectly homogeneous structure to the rock; and the crystalline structure would be produced by the slow cooling under an immense pressure. These causes, therefore,—an immense pressure by superincumbent matter, heat sufficient to produce perfect fusion, and a gradual cooling under pressure, are sufficient to change the skeletons of all animals into the beautiful variety of marble which we find so abundant over the whole surface of the earth.

Such being the theory, how grand and how sublime are the thoughts forced upon our attention! The lofty monumental pile, the immense temple, the huge pyramid, and many of the proudest structures of man's ingenuity, have not always been the dull, motionless rock that they now are, but were once portions of living, and active creatures. The sculptor, too, producing with his chisel forms of beauty, seeming almost superhuman, and with features and expression of countenance that almost draw life and animation from the unfeeling rock, does not, for the first time give even an apparent vitality to these particles, for ages before him these same elements were portions of living beings, who enjoyed life to the fullest extent of their capacity.

The popular definition of marble, is limestone of a crystalline structure, while Limestone is merely the Lime rock, in a granular, or uncrystallized state. This, however, is only a partial definition: for marble is always Limestone, but Limestone is not always marble; and though almost all kinds of marble are crystalline in their structure, yet some of the handsomest ones want this structure. The best of Limestones for producing lime are generally the handsomest marble, although a quality which is of but little value for marble, answers perfectly well in the process of burning for lime.

In the following statistics, the amount of capital invested in the marble business, the amount of marble that is quarried, and the value realized from the sales, are only approximate to the truth, for the reason that most of the quarries are owned by a single individual, or by two or three, at most, and, hence, the items of the business are not so accurately recorded as if it were carried on by a joint-stock company. The quantities, too, that are exported, vary considerably, from the fact that marble is not kept on hand to any great amount, but is only quarried where an actual demand exists for it, as in the case of a contract for a building, or a large number of buildings.

The marble quarry in which the largest amount of money is invested is in the town of Lee, and belongs to the firm known as Rice & Heebner. The capital invested by them is $50,000, and the quarry has been worked for two years past, with receipts for stone amounting to $200,000. The marble is all of it sent away in "the rough," as it is termed, or just as it is taken from the quarry, without labor expended upon it by the chisel, or saw. The quantity that has been exported to gain these receipts, is 150,000 feet, or 15,000 tuns, fifteen cubic feet weighing a tun. The market, for the present, is chiefly at Washington, D. C., of which the extension to the Capitol is being built, although some is sent no farther than Philadelphia. This company also own another quarry in the north part of Lee, which has been worked somewhat extensively, although it is not of so good a quality as that from which the stone for the Capitol is being extracted. The quarry lies very near the Housatonic Railway, so that cars can be loaded from the quarry at once, without the trouble of loading the marble upon and from the common wagons drawn by horses or cattle. About seventy men were employed in this quarry during the last season.

In the town of Lee, another company, called the Lee Marble Company, has been organized, with a capital of $30,000. The stock is owned mostly in New York, and, in 1854, the company proceeded to the work of quarrying with vigor, and carried it on quite extensively. Marble, to any very large amount, has not yet been quarried, but it has been so examined and experimented with, that it proves itself to be a firm, enduring and pure white marble, almost exactly like that of the quarry from which the addition to the Capitol is being constructed.

Mr. Chester Goodale of Egremont, one of the pioneers in the marble business, still owns and works three of four quarries in Sheffield, of pure white marble. The money invested in the quarry, mills and other appurtenances, is about $25,000, and the receipts for the last year, as well as several years past, amounted to $8,000. The marble of all these quarries is very fine and white, and is quite translucent in thin pieces, resembling, in this respect, the cheaper varieties of alabaster. It was from these quarries that the larger part of the material used in the construction of Girard College, Philadelphia, was obtained, including the immense marble pillars of the middle edifice, or main building. The marble from these quarries, as a building material, is still unsurpassed, and the demand is still constant, and slightly on the increase. Here, also, as in most marble localities, the stone grows firmer as excavations are carried deeper into the earth.

Messrs. J. K. & N. Freedley are now carrying on the marble business very extensively. Their quarry is in the town of West Stockbridge, and directly upon the Hudson and Berkshire Railway. Their mill for sawing is also upon the same railway, so that the marble can, by means of derricks, be placed directly upon the rail-cars, and by the same means taken from them and placed in the mill where it is to be sawed. This quarry, as well as the last mentioned one in Sheffield, has been worked for more than forty years, although the present owners have carried on the business at this place but nine years. During the first six years, the annual receipts were $10,000, but during the last three years they have increased to $23,000. The capital invested is $25,000. All the marble that is exported from this quarry is sent away as sawn marble, and not in the rough. The principal market is at Philadelphia, where the fronts of many dwellings are made of it. In quantity, about 1,400 tuns are sent away each year. This is also the pure white marble.

In the South East part of the town of West Stockbridge, about two miles from the "Freedley quarry," is the quarry which has been worked for thirty-nine years by Mr. Andrew Fuarey, who is the oldest marble worker now living in Berkshire county. The amount of money invested by him in the business is $15,000, and the annual receipts about $12,600. During the years of 1836–7 and 8, the amount quarried, sawn and sent to market was thirty tuns the week, but, at the present time, an average of 450 tuns per year, with a price of $28 per tun, is sent from the quarry. The principal market has been, and still is, Philadelphia, in which city no less than seventy-eight buildings are faced with this stone. Of these, are nearly all the Girard buildings—the college an exception—and many others on Girard and Chestnut streets. The inside of the Exchange, in the same city, is also mainly made from this stone, as well as the monument to John Grouff, the architect of the Fairmount Water Works. Besides these buildings and monuments just mentioned, another monument, constructed of marble from Fuarey's quarry, has been erected in Mt. Auburn, to the memory of the four officers who died while connected with the United States Exploring Expedition, under Captain Wilkes.

H. S. Clark & Co., in the Southwestern part of Pittsfield, own a clouded marble quarry, in which is invested $7,000. During the working season of 1853 530 tuns in the rough were quarried, from which were worked 3,000 feet. For this year, and also for two years previous, the net receipts were $16,000 the year, more than double the amount of capital. This firm have owned the quarry for nine years, and the same locality was worked ten years previous to their possession of it. The principal use to which this stone is put, is the construction of head stones and monuments, a market for them being readily found in Albany and Troy. Considerable business is also done by them in Connecticut.

In the Northern part of Lanesborough is a marble quarry that has been worked for forty years, and which is now known as Platt's Quarry—capital $7,000. The marble is variegated, and is all sawn before it is sent away from the place, the receipts for which average $1,000 the year. The market is mainly Westward, in New York State, although some of it is sent to the East, and especially to Rhode Island. In 1842 and 3, marble to the value of $20,000 each year was sent from this place; but as now the same quality can be obtained in the Southern parts of the county, and nearer to a Railway, the demand is not so great for it as formerly. And yet, the demand for 1854 was much greater than that of the previous year. A few houses in Albany have fronts constructed of this Marble, although its main use is for head-stones and monuments.

In the town of Alford, near the Southwestern corner of the state, are two marble quarries which are worked at the present time. One of these is worked by Mr. William Milligan, with a capital of $6,000, which, in 1853, yielded $1,200. This quarry was worked fifty years ago, and it has been in its present hands twenty-three years. The quality of the marble is the variegated, and in years past has been used very extensively for buildings and public works. At present, the principal market is Albany, where examples of it may be seen in the Albany Market, the Law Buildings, the greater part of the Museum, and the inside of the State House. Owing to the horizontal position of the strata, very large slabs can be quarried here with great ease: for instance, the platforms, or large slabs which constitute the dome of the Albany State House, are sixteen and a half feet by six feet; and slabs twelve feet square, and one foot in thickness, are very often got out by Mr. Milligan. Probably there is no place in Berkshire county where this rock can be more easily quarried than at this place: for it occurs on a high ridge, and, of course, needs no excavating to remove the marble; and, besides, water cannot accumulate to prevent or render expensive the working.

The other quarry of Marble that is worked in Alford belongs to Mr. Frederick Fitch. This lies nearly South of Milligan's quarry, and is on the same range of rock as that quarry. The value of this quarry, as estimated by Mr. Fitch, is only $2,000, although, when compared with other marble quarries in Berkshire county, we can see no reason why the amount should not be trebled. This quarry has been worked for at least fifty years, although only eight years by its present owner. During this period, as nearly as can be estimated, the receipts have been $2,000 the year. The marble here quarried is variegated, and may be seen in the City Hall, New York, which is for the most part built of stone from this quarry. The principal market of Fitch's quarry is New York city, and the stone is only used for building purposes.

In Lenox, Marble has been worked since the year 1800. At first, however, the stone was not taken from quarries, but from boulders, or loose rocks that were quite abundant in that place. The first mill for sawing marble was built in 1816, by Mr. Nathan Barrett, and the business carried on by him until 1837, when his sons, James L. Barrett & Brothers, undertook the same business, and have carried it on quite extensively up to the present time. Their capital is $3,000, and the amount yearly quarried is 5000 feet, or 200 tuns. The marble at this quarry is of both the white and variegated quality, and is mainly used for monuments and headstones, and a market for it is readily found at the mill. Considerable business is done by these gentlemen in getting out building stone, caps, sills, and step-stones from the variegated marble, and it answers admirably for these purposes. This quarry is situated within one mile of a station on the Pittsfield and Stockbridge Railway.

In the town of North Adams, is an incorporated company known as the North Adams Marble and Lime Company. The amount of capital invested in this business is $75,000, and the receipts for 1853 were $25,000. The quarry has been worked since 1837, and, in the hands of its present owners, since 1838. In quality, this marble is mainly pure white, although the blue clouded is dug to a considerable extent. It is all sawn, and generally cut and finished, for building purposes, and fronts of dwelling and other houses; examples of which may be seen in Hudson St., N. Y., and in a building erected on the site of the old Bible House, in the same city. Besides New York, a market is readily found in Philadelphia for this stone, to be used for building purposes. This quarry is not at present worked to its fullest capacity, but when the demand for the stone shall require it, the marble can be quarried almost to an indefinite extent.

The statistics of the Lime produced at this place have already been given in another part of this paper, although it is proper to add, that the quality of this lime is decidedly superior; and if a Railway shall ever be constructed from Greenfield to Troy it will probably so lessen the cost of transportation, that Lime from this kiln will be in much greater demand than it is at the present time. And if this Railway be ever completed, it will also greatly enhance the value of all the mineral products already mentioned as occurring in this town, and give them a fair competition with those of any other market.

The quarries that have been enumerated are the only ones that were worked during 1853, although there are at least ten or twelve others which have been worked in past years, and are now unworked, not because they are exhausted, but because the owners of them fail to secure large contracts, or from a vague notion, in the minds of some purchasers, that a new quarry must, of necessity—like a new hat—be better than an old one. This, however, is known to be incorrect to those acquainted with the geological position, or the quarrying of marble; and we do not hesitate to affirm that the quarries of Sheffield are, at this day, as well able to yield beautiful marble, as when, in 1837 and 8, they furnished the columns to the Girard college at Philadelphia. The same may probably be said with regard to all the other marble quarries in Western Massachusetts, although it by no means prevents us from predicting that other quarries of marble, equally good, may be found and worked on that great line of Marble and Limestone which extends from about New Milford, Ct., into the Canadas.

The following table is made out in order to ascertain at a glance the capital invested in each marble quarry, and the receipts of each for the year 1853, as well as the whole amount invested in the marble business in Western Massachusetts, and the net receipts on the same, during 1853.

Name of quarry.	Location.	Capital invested.	Receipts for 1853
North Adams Marble Co.,	North Adams,	$75,000	$25,000
Rice & Heebner,	Lee,	50,000	100,000
Lee Marble Co.,	Lee,	80,000	
J K. & N. Freedley,	W. Stockbridge,	25,000	28,000
Chester Goodale,	Sheffield,	25,000	8,000
Andrew Fuarey,	W. Stockbridge,	15,000	12,600
H. S. Clark & Co,	Pittsfield,	7 000	16,000
Platt's Quarry,	Lanesborough,	7,000	1,000
Milligan's Quarry,	Alford,	6,000	1,200
Barrett's Quarry,	Lenox,	3,000	5,000
Fitch's Quarry,	Alford,	2,000	2,000
Savage's Quarry,	W. Sheffield.	2,000	1,000
		$247,000	$199,800

Showing that, in round numbers, there are nearly $250,000 invested in the marble business in Massachusetts, and about $200,000 was received on this capital during the year 1853.

It will be a difficult thing to give a very accurate estimate of the Lime that is procured from Berkshire Limestone and Marble, from the fact that it is made in so many places, and that imperfect accounts are kept of the quantity produced at the kilns made for burning. The theory of obtaining it is very simple. All Limestones, and consequently all marble, whether crystalline or granular, are composed of carbonic acid—a colorless gas—and Lime, with often a small per cent. of Magnesia. Hence, all that is necessary to obtain lime, is to separate the lime from the carbonic acid, without, at the same time, causing it to unite with any other substance. This is done by burning, or subjecting the limestone to intense heat, which causes the carbonic acid to escape into the atmosphere, and the lime to remain behind as a white, dry solid. Although Limestones, as just stated, are composed of carbonic acid and Lime, yet they are often contaminated with other substances, such as Silica or pure sand, and magnesia, which, of course, add impurities to the Lime, and thus injure its value. Therefore, as a general rule, the pure white and fine grained marble is the best for producing Lime, although some Limestones, which are not thought fit to be used as marble, yield a very large per cent. of Lime. But, as a general thing, Lime-kilns are built in the immediate vicinity of Marble quarries, for the reason that there the rock is the best to obtain the Lime from, and especially because the refuse stone of the quarry is in perfect readiness for the kiln, except the larger pieces, which must be somewhat broken up before they can be well burned.

The following estimate of the Lime burned and sold in Berkshire county for 1853, has been furnished by the kindness of J. L. Barrett, Esq., of Lenox, the products of whose quarry in 1853 for this article, were $3,000. In the town of Adams, 5,000 bushels; Hinsdale, 5,000; Lanesborough, 5,000; Lenox, 70,000; Pittsfield, 12,000; Richmond, 30,000; making a total of 127,000 bushels. This, at the average of $0,28 the bushel, will give an amount of $35,560, which is certainly a low estimate, from the reasons given above.

Iron is one of the metals that have been known from remotest antiquity. It is recorded in the fourth chapter of *Genesis*, that "Tubal Cain was an instructor of every artificer in Brass and Iron." In Job, also, we find these passages: "The bow of steel shall strike him through;" "Iron is taken out of the earth;" "His bones are like bars of Iron," which, together with many others in the Old

Testament, show a knowledge of the existence of this most valuable metal in some of its properties, as far as the history of man extends. In later times, we find mention made of this metal, although only as a rarity, for, in some of the Grecian Games proposed by Achilles in honor of Patroclus, an *Iron Ball* was the reward offered to the successful victor. Later yet, we learn that one of the Roman Emperors commanded money to be made of this metal, that he might by these means check the covetous spirit of his people.

The process of reducing the ores of Iron to the metallic state was probably imperfectly known in the time that the Romans held possession of England, although it was not until the 17th century that the method of smelting by mineral or pit coal was discovered.

The process of smelting the ores of Iron consists in separating the pure metal from the earthy substances with which it is in combination. These substances, in the ores of Iron that are generally worked, are Sulphur and Quartz, or their compounds with Oxygen. Native Iron has never been found, except as a cabinet curiosity. If Sulphur be the ingredient that must be driven off, even though it be in very minute proportions, it is a somewhat difficult and complicated process. But if it be the Silica, as is the case with Massachusetts Iron, the process is carried on by mixing in proper proportions with the ore, and the coal, Lime or Limestone, called the 'flux'; this unites with the Silica, forming the 'slag,' which is a rude and imperfect glass, and is always seen in abundance as waste material, in the vicinity of Iron furnaces, leaving the Iron in its pure, metallic state.

These substances—the Ore, the Coal, and the Lime—are generally imperfectly mixed together, about in the proportion of one third of each, and put in at the top of the furnace, which very much resembles a large and tall chimney, the capacity growing less at the bottom, and forming what is called the crucible, which receives the metal as fast as it is reduced from the ore, from its high specific gravity. A powerful current of air is constantly forced into the furnace by machinery, just above the crucible, which is termed the blast, and this current it is, which keeps up this intense heat—above 3,200 degrees Fahrenheit—without which it is impossible to reduce the ores of Iron to the metallic state. When the furnace is once in 'full blast,' it is kept in this state until some portion of it needs repairing, or the supply of coal fails, or something equally important demands a 'blowing out,' or cessation of operations for a while. Of course, such labor requires two sets of operatives, one for day and another for night, neither of them stopping their work for the Sabbath; for if the fire be allowed to go out, even for a single day, it requires a whole week to heat up the furnace again to the point necessary for reducing the iron. The metal is generally "cast," or drawn off, by puncturing the crucible in its lowest portion, which permits the iron to run in a gutter to a bed of sand, where are a large number of short trenches that at once fill with the melted metal, which, when cooled, makes what is well known as "pig iron." This opening is readily closed by forcing into it, with a long iron rod, a lump of moistened clay, which, by the heat is immediately hardened into a very impenetrable kind of earthern ware, that completely closes the orifice, until it shall again be necessary to open it for a similar purpose. In the same manner, all little openings that are constantly made by the heat and pressure, are at once effectually closed. Most furnaces blow out, upon an average, in about six or eight months, and yet, occasionally, one runs from nine to thirteen months.

Great Britain and the United States, without doubt, produce a large portion of all the iron that is used in the world, and, according to Seaman—the author of the "Progress of Nations"—England and Wales, at the present day, produce nearly half of the iron that is made in the world. According to the returns of the last census, the amount of pig iron made annually in the United States is 564,755 tuns, of which 12,287 tuns are made in Massachusetts, being about one forty-fifth of the whole amount. The amount reduced in 1837 was 2,617 tuns.

All the furnaces in Berkshire county, without exception, work the ore known as the Brown Hematite, or, in chemical language, the hydrous peroxyd of Iron. Geologically considered, it belongs, in all probability, to the Tertiary Formation, which extends from Canada to Georgia, and is accompanied by what is known in Europe as the Lignite, or Brown Coal Formation. The Spathic Iron, or Carbonate of Iron, occurs in small quantities in this county, but never has been worked to any extent, more than for an experiment.

The Hudson Iron Works, whose furnaces are in Hudson, New York, own the largest iron bed in Massachusetts. This is in West Stockbridge. It lies in a vein running Northeast and Southwest, is underlaid by the Ocher, resting on limestone, and is covered with the variegated clays, conclusively showing that all the iron beds of Berkshire belong to the Tertiary deposit. The vein has been traced for 1,300 feet, and varies in width from 40 to 100 feet. The present excavation is more than 500 feet in length, and 100 feet in depth. The whole capital of this company is $235,000, of which $50,000 are invested in this mine, and the receipts for ore during the year 1853 were $5,000. The existence of iron has been known in this place for more than ten years, but it has not been considered of sufficient value to allow much outlay, or to require extensive working, until 1851, when it came into the hands of its present owners. During these three years, 60,000 tuns of ore have been sent to Hudson. A description of the method of transportation of the ore to the furnace deserves a moment's attention. A branch of the Hudson and Berkshire Railway, five-eighths of a mile in length, is built up to the very limits of the ore-bed, and by means of an embankment, considerably higher than the top of the cars, the horse carts, or wheelbarrows loaded with the ore are, in the easiest manner possible, emptied at once into the cars, so that, in a few minutes, a hundred tuns are loaded, which is the amount usually drawn by one locomotive. By means of a switch, the ore is carried from the main trunk of the Railway directly to the furnace yard, thus saving a great expense (to many Iron-workers,) in loading and unloading the ore several times. The ore is valued at $2 50 the tun at the mine, and when reduced gives 45 per cent. of pure metal. Besides taking the ore from the top of the ground, or rather, at the open pit already mentioned, a horizontal adit has been driven easterly from the pit, communicating with a perpendicular shaft 150 feet in depth, in order to drain the water from the workings, and also that other drifts may be sent in different directions from it.

At Lenox Furnace—a village in the Southern part of Lenox—is situated the furnace of the Lenox Iron Works. This company, incorporated in 1848, has a capital of $100,000, which is owned in Lenox. Its site has been used for a long time for the reduction of iron from its ores, since hollow ware was cast at this place nearly seventy-five years ago.

The Stockbridge Iron Company, with a capital of $125,000, which is mostly owned in Boston, are at the present time working two beds of ore, which are, with the furnace, in the town of Stockbridge. During the years 1851–2, the amount of metal produced was 63 1-4 tuns per week, with both of their furnaces in operation. This ore yields 50 per cent. of metal, and is made, (it is very encouraging to know,) to yield four to five per cent. more when anthracite is used instead of charcoal. The average receipts per tun, of the latest sales, is $35, the market principally Boston and vicinity. Three beds of ore in Lenox are now worked by this company, and besides these, five more are their property, some of which are in West Stockbridge. Five thousand tuns of ore are used here every year, valued at $2 25 the tun, from which is made 2,000 tuns of metal. This sold in 1853 at $40 the tun, making the gross receipts $80,000. The per cent. yield of the ore is 45. The markets for this furnace are chiefly at Springfield, Holyoke and Worcester, where it is principally used for machinery.

North of Pittsfield, in Lanesborough, is the furnace of the Briggs Iron Company. Their capital is owned in Salem, and amounts to $100,000. The Company was incorporated in 1847, and works up about 4,000 tuns of ore yearly, making 1,800 tuns of metal, which readily sells at $40 per tun. During the year 1853, 2,000 tuns of metal were made, of course increasing considerably the receipts. The per cent. of metal from this furnace averages 45.

During the year 1848, a bed of iron ore in North Adams was purchased and opened by the North Adams Iron Company, with a capital of $64,000. At the same time, or immediately afterwards, beds were secured to them in

Pittsfield, Cheshire, and Copake, New York. During the first years of operation, the company reduced about 1,200 tuns of metal, but in 1853 nearly 1,700 tuns, which, at the price of $40 the tun, makes a yearly receipt of $68,000. The ore yields 40 per cent. of metal. The great advantage which this company possesses for working iron, consists in the fact that, from North Adams to Brattleboro, the country is nearly an unbroken forest, which, for years to come, will furnish all the charcoal necessary to reduce the iron. The principal, and very ready market for this iron is at Albany and Troy, to which a railway will probably be completed, that will enhance the value of this property, and render a supply of the metal more abundant.

The Richmond Iron Works have located one furnace in Van Deusenville, a portion of Great Barrington, and another in Richmond, with a joint capital of $54,000. The owners are John H. Coffing, Charles and George Coffing, and the heirs of Holly & Coffing, of Salisbury, Ct., as this was formerly connected with the Salisbury Iron Works in Connecticut. As early as the year 1829, this company owned a furnace in Richmond for "blooming" iron, as it is termed, and in 1834, the present furnace in Van Deusenville was built, and the company incorporated in 1842. The majority of the beds, however, that are are now worked, have been discovered since that period, and, although fourteen distinct localities of ore belong to this company, yet but seven are worked at the present time. These are all situated in Richmond and West Stockbridge. This ore yields about 40 per cent. of metal, and each furnace now produces 42 tuns per week, although, in 1843–4, both of them produced only 60 tuns the week. The amount of ore used yearly is 9,000 tuns, and the metal procured from it about 3,200 tuns. Its average price per tun is $43, which is somewhat higher than many other furnaces in the Western part of Massachusetts.

In the village of West Stockbridge, a few rods South of the Railway Station, is an iron furnace which promises to be one of the best and largest in Massachusetts. The company owning it is known as the Berkshire Iron Works. The furnace has been in operation only since the last of February, 1854, and is now hardly in full working order, although from ten to eleven tuns of iron are made by it daily, with the expectation that when in its best working state, fifteen tuns the day will be the product. Sixty thousand dollars have already been invested in quarries, buildings, and other outlays, and forty thousand more will be laid out as fast as time will permit. And this addition will be to make the largest furnace in Massachusetts, with boshes of twenty feet, the largest now in existence being from 13 to 14 feet. The ore at this furnace is reduced entirely by hard coal, although it was formerly thought to be an impossibility to make good iron without charcoal. And under the superintendence of Mr. Robert Ralston, a Scotch founder, the very best of iron has been sent from this furnace. An improvement has been made in the furnace, by which the blast is heated about 612°—sufficient to melt lead—by conveying a portion of the spent gases of the chimney, through large chambers, containing the blast, in iron pipes, which, of course, greatly facilitates the reduction of the ore. The greater portion of the ore yields 40 per cent. of metal, and some of it even as high as 45 per cent. Six beds have already been opened by this company, and five or six more yet remain to be worked.

The annexed table gives us, at one view, statistics concerning the amount of capital invested in the iron business in Western Massachusetts, the receipts for the year or working season of 1853, the per cent. of metal, and, as far as ascertained, the average sales per tun of the metal, or ore, when the iron is manufactured out of the State.

Name of Company.	Location.	Capital invested.	Receipts for 1853.	Average per cent. of metal.	Av. price per tun.
Stockbridge Iron Co.,	Stockbridge,	$125,000	$72,800	50	$35,00
Lenox Iron Works,	Lenox,	100.000	80,000	40	40,00
Briggs Iron Co.,	Lanesborough,	100,000	72,000	45	40,00
N. Adams Iron Works,	North Adams,	64 000	68,000	40	40,00
Berkshire Iron Works,	W. Stockbridge,	60,000	11,200	40	40.00
Richmond Iron Works,	Great Barrington,	54,000	137,600	40	43,00
Hudson Iron Works,	W. Stockbridge,	50,000	5,000	45	85,00
Union Iron Works,	Cheshire.	79,000	63,800	42	39,00
Total,		$632,000	$510,400	42 3-4	$39,00

From the Union Iron Works in Cheshire, no returns have been made, and the statistics given are made out by taking the average of the seven other furnaces in Berkshire County, which, of course, is only an approximate result.

In the Geological Report of Dr. Hitchcock, we find considerable said about the existence and the probable future value of *Soapstone* in Massachusetts. This is from the fact that it is quite abundant in Western Massachusetts, that it is so easily worked, and so completely resists the action of heat. If we draw a line across Massachusetts in a Northerly direction, commencing with Blandford, and passing through Middlefield, and thence through Vermont, we shall probably pass within ten miles of a larger part of the principal soapstone quarries West of the Connecticut river in New England. These lie, for the most part, at the junction of the Hornblende and Talcose, or Hornblende and Mica Slates, the beds lying coarsely stratified with the same direction and dip as the rock on which they recline. These beds are in general of not very great width and extent, a few yards at most, but occurring frequently along the line already mentioned, perhaps existing rather as protuberances, and not as the same continuous bed.

In some places, this rock is quite hard, almost equal to marble in hardness, while, in others, it is so soft that it is readily cut with the knife. Often it is so thickly filled with calcareous spar, dolomite, or other minerals, that it is not considered of value sufficient for quarrying; and in other places large blocks are taken out that are almost entirely free from foreign substances. It is heavier than the majority of rocks, its specific gravity being 2.85, while marble is from 2 to 2.50. One of the most remarkable properties of this rock, is its power to retain heat for a great length of time. In this property, it differs from, and excels all other known substances. It is also an excellent substance to withstand the effects of heat, far surpassing fire-bricks; and, although much more expensive than these, yet its greater durability more than compensates for its high value. For while fire bricks, that line Russia iron stoves, at the most, last but two seasons, the best soapstones will endure heat of this amount for ten years. Another instance of its durability may be seen in the furnace doors of the Collins Steamers. They were formerly made of iron, and lasted but one trip, always being destroyed by the intense heat. Recently, however, these doors were made of soapstone, with an iron casing—the iron not meeting directly the strong heat—and they have lasted during four trips, and yet seem just as good as when first put in. The fact of the power in soapstones to retain heat for such a length of time, has led to quite an extensive use of them, especially in the country, for keeping hands and feet warm, when riding for a considerable distance in a cold day.

Soapstone is used in making registers to furnace openings, in the manufacture of porcelain, as a polishing material, a substance that in powder easily removes oil and grease stains from cloth, forms a body for fancy soaps, and is also used for making fire-proof paints, and, when mixed with oil, is an excellent and economical substance for lubricating the axles and pivots of heavy machinery. The only other use of this rock, necessary to be mentioned, is for facing the fronts of buildings, in the same manner as marble and sandstone are employed. Although it is so soft that it can be cut by the knife, yet it is abundantly solid, and sufficiently strong to sustain the necessary pressure from above. It is of a very light gray color, and does not become tarnished by exposure to the action of air or water. One great excellence of it is that cornices and window caps can be carved from it to a great extent, and yet with very little expense. The cost of this material for building purposes, is about the same as of marble and sandstone, for, although the expense of working is very trifling, yet the original cost of the stone is nearly double that of other building materials.

One of the largest and most important soapstone quarries in the United States, is in Middlefield. It has been known and worked for several years by several companies, all with more or less profit, and to a considerable extent. During 1853 it was purchased by a New York company, chartered as the Metropolitan Soapstone Company, with a capital of $300,000. General Charles B. Stuart is the President of the company. This Company are now quarrying this rock in immense quantities, and conducting operations in a more systematic and scientific manner, than has ever been done before at this quarry. The bed is several hundred feet in length, and has an average width of thirty feet, and, in most parts of it, is of an uniform gray color, although, in some places, it is slightly variegated, which is the best and handsomest quality for building purposes. There are two mills at Middlefield for sawing this stone, and grinding a portion of it into powder, and a yard in

New York city, at No. 260, West 13th Street, occupying an acre of ground, with a steam engine, an iron building, and machinery necessary for the working of the stone. During the year 1853, 1000 tuns of this stone were quarried at Middlefield, 600 tuns of which were taken to the New York market, and there sold for firestones in coal furnaces, at an average price of $12 the tun. During 1854, the Company quarried and worked up at least 100 tuns the week.

Farmers and other holders of land in Western Massachusetts cannot be too strongly urged to attend to the matter of ascertaining whether soapstone exists on any part of their land; for it is now very valuable, and, without doubt, will increase in value for sometime to come, since experiments have shown that the variety which is absolutely pure is not the only one that will answer for building and fire purposes. Even if it be infested, in some degree, with dolomite and calc spar, it can be used for a great many valuable purposes. Examples of soapstone used as a building material can be seen in a house on Concord street, and another on Clarke street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Also one in 15th street, New York.

Soapstone has also been found and quarried to some extent in the towns of Blandford, Chester, Windsor, New Lebanon, Hinsdale, Savoy, Granville and Rowe, and probably will be found in as many more towns in the Western part of Massachusetts.

Closely connected with soapstone is the granular quartz rock, known as *Firestone*. The only locality of this that is worked to any considerable extent, is in the Southeast part of Great Barrington, near Tyringham. It is owned by John Devenney, Esq., and the stone is used in making hearths for iron furnaces. For this purpose, it is sold at $1 the cubic foot, unless very large blocks are required, when the price is somewhat increased. During 1853 the receipts of this quarry were $3,000. This locality has been worked for the last eight years, and was at first owned and worked by John C. Briggs, Esq., and the stone known as "Briggs' stone."

The manufacture of glass has been carried on quite extensively for a few years past in Berkshire County. This is for the simple reason that there is such an abundance of pure quartz, or glass sand, the most essential constituent of glass, in this section of country. Quartz rock, however, is a very abundant rock in New England; but it will not in all instances answer for glass manufacture, because it contains coloring matter, or other impurities, which will not produce transparent and colorless glass. Glass is a variable compound of the silicates of potash, soda, alumina, or lime, with some metallic oxyd for a coloring material, according to the purpose for which it is needed. Window glass, and all other kinds of glass that are simply intended for the ready transmission of the rays of light, and no exposure to intense heat, are made of the whitest of lime, the purest soda-ash, and the most transparent of silica or glass sand, in the proportions (average) of 3 of sand, 1 of soda-ash, and nearly 1 of lime, although the proportion varies according to the purity of the ingredients. At present, there are three manufactories of glass in Berkshire County: one in Cheshire, one in Lanesborough, and another in Lenox.

The Cheshire Glass Works carry on their business with a capital of $80,000, which is mostly owned in New York, and have now been in operation two years. During the first part of 1854, they manufactured window glass only, but they have since made rough plate-glass for floors and roofs. For this purpose, the glass is cast instead of blown, and rolled out under immense pressure, and when finished, is about one-half an inch in thickness, although some of it is, for a few particular uses, made an inch thick. The amount of sand used daily is 2,800 pounds, of soda-ash 500 pounds, and lime 800 pounds, and from this is made 600 feet of half-inch glass each day. This, at the factory, will readily sell for 50 cents per foot, yielding about $300 the day for nine months in the year. The remaining three months are necessary for renewing the materials of the furnace.

This company are now making experiments upon polished plate glass, and are confident of soon being able to furnish a good article for the market, in abundance, since the sand is of such an admirable quality, and can be so cheaply furnished, the locality being within a few rods of the manufactory.

In the town of Lenox, within a few rods of the Lenox Iron Works, are located the Lenox Glass Works. The amount at present invested in this branch of manufacture is $40,000, although, as soon as the second furnace is constructed, the amount invested will be $60,000. This stock is principally owned by the same persons that own the Lenox Iron Works. The sand that is used here is from Cheshire, although it occurs in Lenox of as good a quality as that in Cheshire, and will soon be dug there, instead of importing it from other parts of the county. At present, window glass is the sole product of the furnace, although experiments are soon to be made on rough and smooth plate glass. The amount of glass daily made is 4,500 feet, bringing from $5 to $6 the 100 feet, in the market. About one tun and a half of sand is daily used here, which costs at the Cheshire bed $2 50 the tun; 1000 pounds of soda-ash at 2 7-8 cents the pound, and 900 pounds of lime, at four cents the pound. The heating material is the softer kinds of wood, hemlock and spruce, which are partially charred before heating the glass, and can be obtained in this section of country in great quantities, since it is the hard and not soft wood which furnishes the best charcoal for smelting iron.

A Glass Furnace is established at Lanesborough, with Albert R. Fox, as superintendent. The stock of this company, known as the Berkshire Glass Company, is valued at $80,000. This corporation was chartered in 1847, although it was not until the spring of 1853 that active operations were commenced. About the first of November, in the same year, the first products were manufactured for the market, and $8,000 worth were disposed of previous to January, 1854. White cylinder glass is the sole product of this furnace, of which 3,000 feet are manufactured daily. The sand beds from which the glass sand is procured, are in the town of Lanesborough, being on the same range of quartz rock as the Cheshire beds. The erection of this furnace has led to the building up of an enterprising village, and the establishment of a new Post Office, known as Berkshire, situated upon the North Adams and Pittsfield railway.

At Cheshire, in the immediate vicinity of the Cheshire

Glass Works, is the bed from which is dug an immense amount of sand, that is sent to different parts of this country, and also exported in considerable quantities to England and France. The price of the sand, when laden in the cars at Cheshire, is $5 50 the tun, and the amount shipped in 1853 was 4,300 tuns, yielding receipts to the amount of $23,650. This locality will probably remain unexhausted for a great length of time, even if worked at its present rate, and should this particular bed give out, an abundance of others can be found in the range of the quartz rock extending in a Northerly and Southerly direction through Berkshire County.

The localities of *Lead* in Massachusetts, that are of any importance, are all situated in the Connecticut Valley. They are not, as yet, productive, but a few of them have been worked, with the hope that the vein would be reached, and the mines made to yield a large amount of ore. In the nine different towns in this valley in which lead is found, it is either in the granite or mica slate, or at their junction with each other; but the only localities which are expected ever to be profitable are in granite. The ore in these localities is invariably the sulphuret, or galena, and is associated with blende, or an ore of zinc, called "black jack" by the miners. This ore, the galena, is reduced to the metallic state by heat alone, the heat driving off the sulphur in the form of sulphurous acid. At present, there is no locality of lead in Massachusetts where the ore is raised and the metal smelted, although it was known to exist in Northampton as early as 1767, and bullets were made at that place during the American Revolution. This locality, since that period, has been unopened and unworked until when, quite recently, a company known as the Northampton Silver Lead Company was started, who have excavated quite extensively, preparatory to working the ore. The vein has been struck by a perpendicular shaft, and a horizontal adit has been forced into the vein for the purpose of drainage, &c. According to Dr. C. T. Jackson, who has examined the locality, appearances indicate a productive mine, as he says: "The whole character of the lode is such as to impress all miners who visit it, with the fact that the vein is a true one, and that it will become rich as it penetrates downward." It is quite probable that copper will also be extensively mined in the same spot, since it increases in abundance very fast, as the perpendicular shaft is sunk, and to such an extent that Dr. Jackson is not decided in his own mind which will ultimately predominate, the lead or the copper. The vein, as at present known, is about six feet wide, which is the width of the shaft; and, as only one of the walls of it has been found, it is believed that the vein is much wider than where it is now partly seen. The ore when washed will yield 70 per cent. of metallic lead, and, according to an analysis made by Dr. Chilton of New York, silver also, to the amount of 30 *oz.* 2 *dwts.* to the tun, from which the name of the company is derived.

At Southampton, mining operations for lead have been carried on, though somewhat intermittingly, for the last twenty years. About the year 1830, a perpendicular shaft was sunk sixty feet, directly upon the vein, which was 6 or 8 feet wide; but, as the water ran in very fast, it was determined to strike the vein by a horizontal adit from the hill below, a distance of 180 rods. This was commenced, and the vein nearly reached, when the discovery of lead in Missouri caused a fall of more than one hundred per cent. in its value, so that all operations at this place were at that time discontinued. Within a few years, operations have been renewed, and the horizontal drift carried on still farther, nearly to the vein. Both of these localities mentioned, as well as two others on the same vein, are owned by the Hampshire Consolidated Mining Co. The latest intelligence from this company is a total suspension of operations. This is owing to the fact that assistance has been expected from English capitalists; but now all the surplus capital is turned towards another direction than American mines.

Upon the comparative value of this mine with the one just mentioned, in Northampton, nothing can be said, since, in all probability, they are both upon the same great vein, which may be traced in a Northeast direction, from Montgomery to Hatfield, although there may be local circumstances to favor the one rather than the other. Many interesting minerals have been found in both these localities, which lead the mineralogist, at least, to hope that operations will be carried on to a very considerable extent. And the recent discovery of fluor spar leads all acquainted with the matter to expect a large supply of lead, since, in all the lead-bearing countries of Europe, this mineral, distinctly crystallized, occurs in considerable quantities. And if this vein be indeed a "leader," then we may confidently expect that, in the course of a few years, many mines will be discovered and worked along the course already indicated.

Table showing the amount of capital in Western Massachusetts invested in mineral products, and the net receipts for 1853, as far as can be ascertained:

	Capital.	Receipts for 1853.
Iron,	$632,000	$510,400
Marble,	247,000	199,800
Soapstone,	300,000	12,000
Glass,	200,000	161,900
Firestone,		3,000
Lime,		35,560
Glass Sand,		23,650
	$1,379,000	$1,146,310

The mineral products which have just been described are the only kinds which are, at present, of any pecuniary value. Since this part of the State has been settled, however, several other sources of mineral wealth have yielded no inconsiderable amounts of profit to their owners. In Hatfield, within a few years, *Sulphate of Baryta*, or *Barytes*, has been dug and carried away in immense quantities, as a substance for adulterating white lead, as well as an independent pigment, which is used where painted surfaces are exposed to acid vapors, sulphuretted hydrogen, and other corrosive gasses, since they produce no effect at all upon it. It, however, only answers for such places, and is not an economical or enduring pigment. The same substance is now dug at Cheshire, Ct.

In several places in the Western part of Massachusetts, *Serpentine* or *Magnesian Marble* has been quarried and worked to some extent, as a beautiful ornamental stone, in the place of marble. When this is associated and mingled with limestone, it constitutes verd-antique marble, and when worked in its pure state, it makes a most beautiful green, clouded stone, that answers admirably for table tops, mantles, vases, &c. And it is not a little surprising that Americans, who, of late, seem so anxious to follow the customs of Europe, should allow a rock equally handsome with European varieties to lie in the quarries, while in Spain, and other parts of Continental Europe, churches and private dwellings are decorated with it to a very considerable extent. The most extensive quarry in New England is in Middlefield, while the handsomest variety is from Newbury in this State.

If, now, we turn our attention to the mineral resources which as yet lie useless, and almost unknown, we have an immense field before us. For, without doubt, in variety, Massachusetts takes the lead of all the New England States. In the first place, every source of mineral wealth that is now known and worked, can be made to yield double its present amount, if the capital be only invested in it, and the business be properly managed. For example, not one half of the iron beds that have been discovered are now worked, and but a very little labor and expense have been laid out in searching for new localities. And should every other marble quarry, save those in Massachusetts, fail, Berkshire alone would satisfy the wants of American marble for many years to come. Soapstone, too, which is gradually, but surely, coming into the market, lies in immense but unknown quantities in Western Massachusetts, needing only to have its beds exposed to the sunlight, to give a most excellent quality, and abundant quantity to the whole world. Sand for the manufacture of glass, is now exported in no inconsiderable quantities to France and England, but were pains only taken to show its beauty and abundance, the demand would be much beyond the present. But another reason why the mineral wealth of Massachusetts yields so small a revenue, is the ignorance of its citizens as to what her territory contains, and the little pains taken to know it. Within four miles of one of the most prosperous and growing cities in this Commonwealth, are two localities of *Roman Cement*, or hydraulic lime. These two localities are Chicopee and West Springfield, where the substance is found as concretions in the new sandstone. Some years since, a manufactory of this cement was established in the Northern part of West Springfield, and a very good article made, although the operation is at present given up.

In the West part of Chester is a locality of *Chromite of Iron*, which is the ore that very readily produces chromic acid, the basis of valuable pigments, such as chrome green, and chrome yellow. This is the same ore that is found in Maryland, and from which these pigments are at the present time manufactured.

Magnetic Iron Ore is described in Dr. Hitchcock's Geological report as occurring in considerable abundance in the Northern part of Franklin County. This is a very rich ore, yielding from 50 to 90 per cent. of pure metal, and is the same as the iron mountain of Missouri, and the iron mines on the South coast of Lake Superior.

The *Oxyd of Manganese* has been found in Sheffield, and some other places in Berkshire County. In Vermont, it has been worked, on a continuation of the same range.

Tin will ultimately be found in a workable quantity in Western Massachusetts. The reasons for such a statement are, that the rocks are of the proper character, (the oldest,) and the oxyd of this metal has been found crystallized in several places; and according to an English Geologist, "it is generally in the vicinity of a vein of tin ore, that disseminated grains of tinstone are found in the rock." Besides this, veins of tin are always quite small, and consequently easily overlooked, and especially so, since the rocks in which they are to be found, are in those portions of the State that are very thinly settled.

SCENOGRAPHICAL GEOLOGY.

In the three preceding sections of the Geology of Western Massachusetts, the labor has been comparatively easy, —merely to collect facts and state them, or, at most, to give theories to account for the geological condition of this portion of Massachusetts. But when an attempt is made to describe scenery, and that of so enchanting a spot as the one before us, the mind almost shrinks from the task. Accordingly, the only end of this effort will be a simple setting forth of the facts, and, very possibly, inciting in the mind of the reader a desire to visit the localities mentioned, so that these beauties of nature may be most fully appreciated.

For a starting point, let us place ourselves in imagination upon the highest portion of land in Massachusetts,—Saddle Mountain, or Greylock. This towers above all the other mountains in Western Massachusetts, at least 200 feet, being 3,600 feet above tide-water. Nowhere in this whole State do we gain such ideas of vastness and immensity, as we may derive from this spot. Here the eye rests upon the lofty summits of the Taghconic and Hoosac mountains, with the green valleys intervening, and finally gazes on the peaks of the distant mountain tops in New York and Vermont, until they are blended with the blue horizon of the distant sky. Then the attention is drawn to objects lying nearer the mountain, the first of which is the village of Williamstown, reposing in a beautiful valley, with a Southeastern slope, and handsomely adorned with the College buildings and Observatory. From this the eye is insensibly drawn upwards and beyond, to the vast slope of the Hoosac range, stretching away into Vermont; while the next objects that attract the attention are the mountains of Northern New York, upon the Western shore of Lake Champlain.

The "Hopper" is what no one can forget who has climbed Greylock. This is an immense gulf upon the Southwestern portion of the mountain, which does, indeed, bear some resemblance to the article designated by the name, the bottom of it seeming to be a mere point, although a near approach shows it to be far otherwise. It is, however, a chasm at least 1,000 feet deep, and, as one approaches to its edge upon the naked summit of Bald Mountain—a portion of Greylock—the sight at once makes him grow dizzy, and he willingly shrinks from so dangerous a precipice.

Of late years, the ascent of this mountain has become quite popular, owing to the construction of a tolerably good road for a large part of the distance upon its side, which can be readily reached from the village of North Adams. Any one, however, who intends making this ascent, cannot expect to do it in less time than one day, or reach the foot of the mountain at night without such a condition of body, as will readily induce sound and healthy sleep. Several years since, an Observatory was built upon Greylock, and well fitted up with instruments, designed for making accurate astronomical observations. But, either from malice, or utter wantonness, the building was broken open, and the apparatus most shamefully destroyed. And, still later, this same outrage has been perpetrated upon another set of instruments, furnished by the inhabitants and students of Williamstown, reflecting most sadly upon the character of some human beings, and exhibiting, to say the least, a most striking exemplification of moral depravity, if not of barbarity.

Almost directly South of the mountain, in the adjoining Southwest corner of Massachusetts, stands another grand and imposing pile,—Mt. Washington, the highest peak of which is named Mt. Everett. Nearly 2,000 feet above the base of this mountain is situated the township and village of Mt. Washington, having, probably, the highest location of any town in the state, while 600 feet higher towers the eminence Mt. Everett, named in honor of the Ex-Governor, and late United States Senator, Hon. Edward Everett. The effect produced on the mind, in approaching this mountain from a distance, is much more grand and imposing than when coming in sight of Greylock. For Mt. Everett seems to rise more abruptly from the valley below, and is not placed in the midst of so many surrounding mountains. And when one, riding in the Housatonic cars, has once fixed his eyes upon this most grand and noble of Massachusetts' mountains, he seems compelled, by an irresistible attraction, to gaze, and fill his soul with its grandeur and magnificence, until some intervening object suddenly cuts off his view, and he can only enjoy the lesser mountains and the meadows of the Housatonic valley. Probably the easiest ascent of this mountain is made from Egremont, upon the Northern side of the mountain, although the way is somewhat traveled upon the Southern side, from Northeast, New York. This latter journey carries one by the very romantic spot known as Bashpish Falls. In ascending from Egremont, the traveler passes up a rather dreary slope, for the most part untenanted, either by plant or animal, to the hight of 2,000 feet, when he reaches the village of Mt. Washington, lying in the broad and shallow valley, bounded on the West by the Taghconic range, and on the East by Mt. Everett, with its lower connecting peaks. When the traveller has at length reached the summit of Mt. Everett, he then has a view spread before him, perhaps not the most beautiful, but certainly the grandest and noblest in all Massachusetts. For "you feel yourself to be standing above everything around you; and feel the proud consciousness of literally looking down upon all terrestrial scenes. Before, on the East, the valley through which the Housatonic meanders, stretches far Northward in Massachusetts, and Southward into Connecticut; sprinkled over with copse and glebe, with small sheets of water, and beautiful villages. To the Southeast, especially, a large sheet of water appears, I believe in Canaan, of surpassing beauty. In the Southwest, the gigantic Alender, Riga, and other mountains more remote, seem to bear the blue heavens on their heads in calm majesty; while, stretching across the far distant West, the Catskills hang, like curtains of the sky. O, what a glorious display of mountains all around you! and how does one in such a spot turn round and round, and drink in new glories, and feel his heart swelling more and more with emotions of sublimity, until the tired optic nerve shrinks from its office.

'Ah, that such beauty, varying in the light
Of living nature, cannot be portrayed
By words, nor by the pencil's silent skill,
But is the property of him alone
Who hath beheld it, noted it with care,
And in his mind recorded it with love!'

"This certainly is the grandest prospect in Massachusetts; though others are more beautiful. And the first hour that one spends in such a spot, is among the richest treasures that memory lays up in her storehouse."

The lover of nature will not leave Berkshire County without bestowing a glance upon, if not actually visiting, one other remarkable eminence, "Monument Mountain," in Great Barrington. It stands in the Northeast part of this town, on the highway leading to Stockbridge, and rises only 500 feet above the plain, although its Eastern side is mainly a perpendicular wall of White Quartz Rock. The chief objects of interest in ascending this mountain, are, a very beautiful view of the villages of Stockbridge and Curtisville, with two ponds of water, and, on all sides, mountain rising above mountain to meet the dim and distant horizon. Among these may be distinctly recognized on the North, Saddle and the Green Mountains, and, on the South, Mt. Washington and the Catskill range, together with the delightful village of Great Barrington. Another object of thrilling interest on this mountain, is to walk, or creep to the edge of one of the precipices, and there to try the nerves by looking into the chasm 200 feet below. This, every person is not able to perform. For, as he sees the immense number of fragments lying below, which have, in past time, fallen from the cliffs, and also sees cracks and crevices almost directly underneath the rock on which he lies, the thought cannot be driven from his mind that possibly the mass on which he rests may be ready to fall, and needs but his weight to give it a sufficient starting force, and with it, hurl him with terrific violence upon the sharp rocks below. Upon the highest part of this cliff, a portion has been separated from the top of the mountain by some violent agency, and now stands insulated from the parent rock, 80 to 100 feet in hight. This, from its peculiar shape, is called the "pulpit rock."

If, in imagination, we now take to ourselves wings, and fly across the high ranges of the "hill towns" in Western Hampshire County, we shall find the mountains to be much inferior in hight to those in Berkshire County, but not in beauty of prospect; for, although, from these summits the eye cannot gain such extensive views, yet all this is mainly compensated for, by the exquisite beauty of the Connecticut River landscapes. And first, let us perch upon the highest pile of Sandstones in all Massachusetts—Mt. Mettawampe, or, as it was formerly called, Mt. Toby, which is upon the boundary between the towns of Sunderland and Leverett. Here we rest our feet upon the highest mountain in the Connecticut Valley, 1,100 feet above the river, and 1,200 feet above the level of the ocean, and gain a view from 30 to 50 miles in all directions, overlooking all mountains lying near. We also have a distinct view of no less than seven villages: Sunderland, Amherst, Northampton, Hadley, Easthampton, Hatfield and Whately, while, in a very clear day, we can recognize the village of Belchertown. It is, indeed, a pity, that to gain the whole of this view at once, it is necessary to climb a large tree, which has been made into a stairway ladder; but we trust that the same spirit which led one class in Amherst College to build a road to its summit, and there construct a tree ladder, will induce another class of that same institution, or some other body of people in that vicinity equally public spirited, to clear away a portion of trees on its summit, and repair and improve the road by which the ascent is made. The ascent of this mountain can be made either through Sunderland or Leverett; and visitors can ascend the first half of the mountain in a carriage, and the latter half upon horseback, to its very summit.

Norwottuck is the name given to a peak of the Holyoke range, about four miles South of the village of Amherst. It is a summit very easily reached on horseback, and, when reached, gives a charming view, although of no very great extent, nor by any means of the beauty of Holyoke. But from this summit, the visitor gains a near prospect of very wild scenery, while the villages of South Deerfield, Sunderland, Amherst, Whately, Hatfield, Northampton, South Hadley, Hadley, and Granby, seem to lie only a little below his feet. A good path was made, some years since, up the side of this mountain, but lately it has become overgrown with bushes, which somewhat obscure the direction of the path; but with a little perseverance and hard labor, the top can readily be reached. And to those who love to see flowers or vegetation in their native state, we would offer the advice, to visit this mountain in May or June, when they are in their most perfect vigor.

Mt. Tom, a Greenstone summit, bursting up through the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, will also well repay a visit, to every lover of nature. It constitutes a portion of the boundary between Northampton and Easthampton, running in a Northerly and Southerly direction, the Southern peak being the highest, about 1,000 feet above the Connecticut at its base. The view from this summit is considerably more extensive than from Mt. Holyoke, although by no means so beautiful, since the main objects of interest are the abundance of hills and mountains on the West, with the village of Easthampton and its Seminary buildings almost directly under the feet, and the winding course of the Connecticut upon the South, together with the villages of South Hadley, Holyoke and Granby on the East. An ascent of this mountain is now very easily made, since the county road leading from Holyoke to Easthampton will take the traveler on his right course for ascending the mountain, nearly one half of its perpendicular hight. The other portion may easily be accomplished, either on foot or on horseback.

But the gem of Massachusetts mountains, the one which affords the most splendid view, and the one more frequently visited than all the others in the state, is Mt. Holyoke, on the boundary line between Hadley and South Hadley, and rising 830 feet above the Connecticut, flowing between it and Mt. Tom on the West. The rock of this mountain is the same as that of Tom, being the commencement of the Holyoke range which runs Southward as far as Long Island Sound. The view from Holyoke is indeed splendid and captivating. By the construction of the road to its summit, and the thickly branched trees which cover its side, one does not catch anything but mere glimpses of the scenery until he fairly reaches the top, when the view is all at once at his feet. The placid and beautiful Connecticut will, to most people, present itself as the first object of attraction. Immediately we trace the course of the river as it first appears between Mettawampe and Sugar Loaf, until it disappears, where it has cut its way through the trap of the Holyoke range, and as soon as it again appears, we follow it in the dim horizon of Springfield and its vicinity. While we are attempting to trace the course in the extreme Southern horizon, the question is very naturally asked, "what are those two curious looking mountains with so steep a Western declivity?" These are East and West Rock, near New Haven—no cousins german, but *bona fide* sisters to Holyoke and Tom, of the same geological age and of the same mother earth.

Northampton, perhaps, will impress us with its beauty next, seeming so delightful for a home or a summer residence, its streets so beautifully shaded with grand elms, and the whole village environed with green meadows and forest trees. Then the carpet of nature's own coloring, in the meadows of Northampton and Hadley, seem to us *not* like any manufacture of velvet, or ingrain tapestry of Brussels, and almost impress us with the belief that we are fairies ourselves, and inhabitants of an enchanted land. The distant mountains of Greylock and Monadnock, however, soon fill the soul with more purely sublime and glorious thoughts, so that involuntarily the lips repeat:

"Oh, Nature! how in all thy charms, supreme!
Whose votaries feast on raptures ever new!
Oh for the voice and fire of seraphim,
To sing thy glories with devotion due!"

The last objects deserving of particular attention, to be noticed from this eminence, are the smaller villages scattered through the valley, among which may be mentioned Holyoke with its immense mills, South Hadley with its world-known Female Seminary, Easthampton with its Williston Seminary, and Amherst with its Cabinet, Library, and other College buildings, standing high on its eminence on the Eastern shore of the Connecticut Valley.

There is, however, one fact, which deserves a brief notice, and one which forms a sad contrast to the purity and loveliness of this enchanting spot. This is, the fencing off the summit, where the finest view may be obtained, and, with no outlay of money save the construction of the picket fence and the original price of the land, to exact the paltry sum of twenty-five cents from every mortal who treads the treasured inclosure. This is unexampled in this country, and we feel quite confident that it is equally so in Europe. This objection does not, however, apply to the building of the house, or the charge for using the appurtenances of it—for the charges for these luxuries might be greater, and then reasonable—but only the consecration of a portion of Mother Earth (in precisely the same condition that she was left by violent geological changes,) to that insatiable and heartless God—Mammon.

From this description, let no one suppose that these are the only eminences that deserve attention, or a visit from lovers of nature, for these are only the leading points, the ones that are popular places of resort, and not the only ones where the soul and body can gain refreshing recreation by the purity and loveliness of the objects of contemplation.

But let him who really loves nature, who loves rural scenery, and would see natural objects in their simplest state, exchange a visit on one of those mountains so universally known as places of resort, upon whose sides are well constructed roads, and on whose summits are comfortable houses, for a mountain where he must clamber up the sides, with no path but the one found by the sun or compass, through forest trees and moss grown rocks, and perchance, at the last, climb a tree to gain the prospect! Such an excursion is heartily enjoying nature, and gaining real—if not too exhausting—recreation of both body and mind. A few such places, however, are only left now in all Massachusetts, for the demands of railroads and iron furnaces, and the growing prosperity of the commonwealth, are, to the lower of nature, making sad havoc upon the wild forest trees, and, in one case, at least, expect to assail the vitals of the everlasting hills themselves.

There are other places from which magnificent views can be obtained, and that, when merely riding in a carriage upon the highway path, without alighting or climbing up any hillside. From the villages of Pelham and Shutesbury, towns not especially noted in the State, are some of the most magnificent views in all Massachusetts. For here the traveler stands nearly on the same level with all eminences within fifty miles, and gains a more comprehensive view of the Connecticut Valley than can be obtained on any other mountains in the vicinity. In Chesterfield, Conway, Blandford and many other towns on the hills of Western Hampshire, Franklin and Hampden Counties, similar views may be obtained, and, in some respects, superior to those derived from higher mountain tops, at a much less expense of time and labor, giving thereby to the invalid an opportunity to enjoy natural scenery to a great extent.

But time and space forbid us to do anything more with the waterfalls and gorges of Western Massachusetts, than merely to give their localities, and then leave the reader to gain further information by an actual visit to the places themselves.

When the traveler visits Mt. Washington, he should, by no means, fail to go to the Southwest part of that town, and there visit Bashpish Falls, which, though only upon a small stream of water, are in a very wild and romantic spot, and make a delightful excursion to those who love the wild and romantic in nature. Mitteneaque Falls, upon the Westfield River, Shelburne Falls on the Deerfield, and the falls on the Chicopee at Indian Orchard, together with the most splendid falls on the Connecticut, at Holyoke and Montague, are places that will be visited by those who love the wild and the grand in nature. The gorge, or glen, at Leyden, the cave at Sunderland, the purgatory at Great Barrington, the ghor at Shelburne, on the Deerfield river, and the many limestone caverns in Berkshire county are, by no means, objects that will be slighted by those who are fond of sight-seeing.

CHAPTER II.

THE AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

As an agricultural district, Western Massachusetts possesses many marked characteristics. The geological formations, in which are blended many of the rocks whose disintegration contributes largely to the fertility of the soil; all her mountains yielding timber, adapted to all the wants which attend civilized life, and, at the same time pouring out their ten thousand streams of pure and healthful waters, to supply the hill-sides and enrich the valleys; her sloping hills, yielding abundant harvests under the influence of cultivation, or furnishing substantial and healthful pasturage to the beautiful flocks and herds that roam over them; her valleys opening to the genial influence of "the warm Southwest"; her veriest swamps and lowlands—once so fertile in miasma, now turned to a valuable account,—all these show conclusively that, in the getting up of this beautiful region, of varied landscape, untold varieties of soil scattered to meet the conveniences of cultivation, and elevations, varying from 60 to 3.500 feet above the level of the ocean, the Creator worked on a stupendous and magnificent scale, uniting these and many more attractive features on a smaller area of territory than in almost any other region; as if He designed it as the ground work on which man, in his most enlightened and exalted state, could concentrate his happiest efforts, to render it the beautiful, attractive, and productive garden of the North.

In the first essays of rural improvement in this district, obstacles unknown, even in the most remote regions of the unsettled portions of our country, at the present day, arose to damp the ardor and check the progress of the pioneers. They were on a new and unexplored continent, where the settlements were confined mainly to the coast that belts its Eastern boundary, or scattered with sparseness along a few of the streams whose richer soil attracted the more daring settler to their banks. To the inhabitants of Eastern Massachusetts, he who saw fit to locate himself in the Valley of the Connecticut, was looked upon as one whose doom was almost sealed, by casting himself into the forests and among the dangers of the "far west," while the equally daring son of Connecticut, who pushed his progress into the same valley, or into the more remote forests of Berkshire, was regarded as an adventurer to the chill and icy regions of a too far-off northern home; and so great were the supposed dangers of these earliest settlers, from the natives of the forest, and the wild beasts that dwelt among them, that but few of the sparse populations from which they came, were willing to risk their destiny in so fearful an enterprise.

The sparseness of population hindered the introduction of the arts allied to agriculture; consequently, the first implements used in clearing the forest, and subduing the soil, had to be procured mainly from the older settlements. Those thus obtained, owing to the then existing state of manufactures, were of a rude, inefficient character, requiring a great amount of animal strength to give them even passable operation. The skill and ingenuity of the farmer sometimes prompted him to the bitter necessity of making or repairing his own implements of husbandry, and these, from his want of proper tools and experienced skill, may be supposed to have been still more rude and cumbersome than those that came from the hand of the almost untrained and inexperienced artizan. One great advantage, however, attended their labors. Whenever the sun sent its warm rays upon the stirred earth, or the seed was cast upon its generous bosom, abundant harvests sprang up and matured, to reward the excessive toil of the cultivator. Wheat, oats, barley, and Indian corn, produced highly remunerative crops, while the grasses came in almost spontaneously. Flax, too, was soon found to be a remunerative crop, and was raised in quantities sufficient to clothe the population with linen, fill the stout chests of the matrons of those early days with ample supplies for all household comfort, and furnish a liberal surplus for market.

The cultivation of fruit was early attended to, though confined principally to the apple, and was introduced, in most instances, by the emigrants bringing the seeds with them from the far-off hills of Connecticut, or the equally distant regions of Eastern Massachusetts. These were sown with great care, and the climate and soil favorable to their growth brought them into early maturity. Many of the trees thus originated, and others introduced from the same source in the earliest part of the settlement, are yet living in various sections of the territory, and exhibit strong and enduring constitutional habits; and though, for the most part, they produce only natural fruit, unimproved by grafting on choice varieties, many of them give annual specimens that would in no way disgrace a horticultural exhibition.

The apple and the currant appear to have been the principal fruits of those early days, though the peach, the pear, the quince, and the grape, were soon introduced, in very modest numbers, into the gardens of the more aspiring.

The earliest animals were such as could conveniently be obtained from the then settled portions of the continent. They traced their origin through no aristocratic pedigree, nor answered to the call of their owners through any of those euphonious names so liberally dispensed to their species in the present age. They were just such animals as an infant country afforded,—the very best that could then be obtained, and if we may judge from some of their representatives which descended to grace the early part of the present century, they were ring-streaked, speckled, grizzled,—of nearly every variety of form and color that the imagination can picture. Yet they were a hardy, enduring race, or they never could have survived the exposures which they suffered from the almost universal want of shelter, the searching winds and pitiless storms. Then, too, in the earliest times, they were often pinched for food, and were driven, to supply the deficiency, to feed upon the browse of the forests.

The early agriculture of this region had other difficulties to meet than those we have mentioned. The natives of the forest, jealous of the encroachments of the white man, looked with suspicious, and often malignant eyes on his advances, and frequently encroached upon his premises, and bore away the result of his labors. The settlers could not then, as now, look to a powerful government for protection, for the strong arm of civil power, as it now exists, was in embryo. Then, at last, came the long and trying period of the revolution, when the battles of freedom must be fought, or all be forever lost. And who could fight them but the cultivators of the soil, whom their result would enslave, or forever emancipate? During those long and gloomy years, the plough was often left to rot in the furrow, and faint and few were the encroachments made upon the forest. The fattest of the herd and the finest of the wheat were brought forth, too often without expectation of pecuniary recompense, to be sacrificed on the altar of political liberty.

There were many other incidents to retard the progress of the rural arts in those early days, but history has related them in their more appropriate places. At the commencement of the present century, we find unwieldly tools in use upon the farm and around the homestead, but slightly improved from the primitive type. Many of the fields which, in early cultivation, yielded heavy harvests, began to show tokens of exhaustion, and where wheat once grew luxuriantly, rye was considered the only safe and remunerative winter crop. Spring wheat was introduced to take the place of winter, but refused to yield acceptable harvests, unless the land was carefully prepared for its reception. Corn, which had flourished in luxuriance on the natural food provided by the soil, required the stimulating aid of manures and more thorough tillage, in order to fill the golden ear to fullness; and grass, once the almost natural product of the soil, soon *ran out*, and brought upon the farmer the necessity of ploughing and new seeding the old meadows.

There were exceptions to this deplorable state of things. There were farmers, from the beginning, who carefully saved and applied their manures to the soil, and whose whole course of tillage showed a provident care for the future. Then, again, there were soils so richly endowed by nature, that, in spite of the system of severe cropping to which they were subjected, "held their own," as though they were determined not to be injured by the wrongs of mismanagement. But these were exceptions to the general features which the country presented.

But the present century had scarcely commenced, before the evils of the previous system of farming, and the defects in the tools employed to carry on the system in the manner it had been pursued, were discovered, and noble efforts were made to provide the remedy. The old plough, composed almost entirely of wood, and of clumsy construction—of itself almost heavy enough for a single team, and admirably adapted to load itself with earth, until its influence upon the soil was but little more than would result from drawing a log across it, unless it was frequently relieved of its load by the wooden shovel which the ploughman always had at hand for the purpose, became the subject of remodeling. The mould-board, at first almost without curve or wind, was brought into more suitable shape for raising the furrow with ease, and depositing it in its proper position, the cumbersome "chip," as it was called, also of wood, and answering to the present "land-side," was reduced from its stately dimensions to a more convenient size, and secured from wear by an iron plate provided for its protection, and, finally, as the acme of perfection of the wooden plough, the bulk of timber was eminently reduced, the mould-board took a scientific form, and iron plates were stretched across it for the double purpose of saving wear, and preventing the continual clogging to which it had been forever subject. The result of these improvements in the old, wooden plough, led to deeper ploughings, with less amount of team, and these ploughings resulted, as deeper ploughings always must, in an increased fertility of the soil.

Another improvement of the times, was the introduction of plaster, which was found to be highly beneficial on certain soils and to particular crops—the grain crops in general. But the high price it bore, and the cost of transportation, prevented its being extensively used.

The animals of the farm, up to this time, had not been subject to any material improvement. Many choice ones were raised, and early disposed of, the farmer permitting his farm to be deprived of such as would command the best prices in market, and contenting himself with keeping and breeding from ordinary animals—an evil which has not been entirely overcome at the present day.

The country was abundantly stocked with orchards of the apple, mainly of ungrafted varieties, and many of them worthless for all purposes excepting the manufacture of cider, and of an ordinary quality for that. Other fruits received but little attention, and the garden, especially the farmer's garden, if it contained anything vegetable beyond potatoes, beans, and perhaps a few carrots, onions, and such common essentials for the table, was looked upon as the repository of superfluities, and the time spent in its cultivation as foolishly thrown away.

Before the close of the first decade of the present century, a new and more progressive spirit began to manifest itself among the people of Berkshire, and some of the master spirits of the time were aroused to see the neglected condition of agriculture, and devise means for its advancement and elevation. In 1807, Hon. Elkanah Watson, then a resident of Pittsfield, obtained for his farm a pair of Merino sheep, the first introduced into Berkshire, and so great was the curiosity excited by these animals, that he was induced to exhibit them for a day, under the great elm tree on the public square in that town. The novelty of the thing attracted many spectators of both sexes, from that and some of the neighboring towns, and, from this exhibition is said to have originated the idea of our annual cattle shows and fairs that have attracted, with unimpaired interest, the attention of the vast crowds which have yearly attended those anniversaries, for almost half a century. It does not appear, however, from any authority within our reach, that any effectual measures were taken in the formation of this society, until 1810. In August of that year, Samuel H. Wheeler, an intelligent and independent farmer of Lanesborough, with twenty-six other farmers of the County, issued an invitation to farmers in general to an exhibition of stock, in the village of Pittsfield, on the first of October, from 9 to 3 o'clock. With regard to this exhibition, the Pittsfield Sun, of a subsequent date, says: "The display of fine animals, and the numbers, exceeded the most sanguine hopes of its promoters, and a large collection of people participated in the display."

February 25, 1811, an act of the Legislature was passed, incorporating the association as "The Berkshire Agricultural Society, for the promotion of Agriculture and Manufactures." The petitioners named in this act, were Elkanah Watson, Ezekiel Bacon, John B. Root and John

Churchill of Pittsfield; Caleb Hyde of Lenox, and Samuel H. Wheeler of Lanesborough, who was authorized by the act to appoint the time and place of the first meeting in Pittsfield. At this meeting, Hon. Elkanah Watson, who had exerted much influence in bringing the Society into existence, was elected President. In October, of that year, another exhibition was held on the public square in Pittsfield, and premiums were paid to the amount of *thirty-one* dollars. At this gathering, says Mr. Watson, in his history of the Society, "the number assembled was estimated at three or four thousand." An address was given by the President, after which a procession was formed, consisting of a team "of sixty yoke of prime oxen, drawing a plough, which was held by Charles Goodrich, Esq., Mr. Nathaniel Fairfield and Mr. Sackett, three of the oldest and earliest settlers of Pittsfield; a band of music, members of the Society, each with a badge of wheat in his hat; a stage, drawn by oxen, having a broadcloth loom and spinning jenny, both in operation by English artists; mechanics with appropriate flags, and another stage filled with American manufactures." This procession was led by four marshals, headed by Simon Larned, Sheriff of the County. It appears from the records of the Society, that another meeting was held in January, 1812, at which premiums to the amount of thirty dollars were awarded, making the whole amount awarded by it, in the first year of its corporate existence, sixty-one dollars. This winter exhibition, it appears, was the first on which the ladies of Berkshire, who had long been eminent for their industry and thrift, had ever assembled to display the triumphs of their ingenuity and skill; and so reluctant were they to contribute to this display, as an intelligent lady now living, who, at the time, resided in Pittsfield, testifies, that the President, Mr. Watson, actually went around the village, after the hour of meeting had arrived, and urged many to come in and bring such articles of home production as they saw fit; but by all means to bring something. Under such laborious and discouraging circumstances passed the first year of the existence of the Berkshire Agricultural Society.

In 1812, an important acquisition was made to the association by the arrival of Major Thomas Melville, a native.

we believe, of Boston, but more recently a resident of France, in Pittsfield. Maj. Melville, during his residence in France, had become acquainted with the operations of similar institutions in that country, and, fully impressed with the valuable effects which were resulting from them there, and must attend their existence everywhere, when properly conducted, came at the very moment when his services were needed to give new life and energy to this infant and feeble institution. In that year, a subscription was circulated in Boston, on which, through his influence, *one hundred and eighty dollars* were realized to the benefit of the Society, and which so far augmented their funds that premiums to the amount of $243 were awarded in October of that year, and seventy-one dollars in the January following. In October, 1813, the exhibition of the Society was open two days. The animals were arranged in pens around the great elm, from which an appropriate flag waved in the Autumn breeze, while articles of domestic manufacture were arranged for exhibition in the upper room of the town house—a room of modest dimensions, compared with the spacious hall now occupied by the Society—but amply sufficient for those days. Agricultural implements were deposited in the East, and vegetable productions in the West, lower rooms of the same building. That year the Society received additional aid from Boston, through the agency of Allen Melville, to the amount of $138, and a donation from T. Storm, Esq., of New York, of $50, which enabled them to award premiums on the second day to the amount of $366. These premiums were awarded and delivered to successful candidates in the first congregational church, after appropriate religious exercises, and the President's address, all which tended to give interest to the occasion, and introduce it to more favor with all classes.

In 1814, the Society, through the agency of T. Melville, Jr., was again favored with a liberal donation, amounting to $125, from citizens of Boston, which, with the increasing funds from membership, enabled the Society to award premiums on an increased number of articles that year, to the amount of five hundred and twenty-three dollars.

The Society was now out of shoal water, and under encouraging headway on the sea of usefulness. Although many of the farmers still looked upon its operations with jealous eyes, and stood apart from its general proceedings, the increasing numbers which, from year to year, attended its anniversaries, showed conclusively that it was attracting more general favor, while the improved animals, implements of husbandry, and better system of cultivation, which were distributed through the county, placed their utility within the inspection of all observers. And however little the prejudiced part of the community might be willing to attribute them to the influence of the association, they were each and all coming within the sphere of its benefits.

Encouraged by the increasing success attending their labors, the Society, in addition to their usual premium list, offered the following prizes, to be awarded in 1819: For the best and second best young Apple Orchard of grafted fruit, $30; for the best and 2d best young Maple Orchard, $30; for the best Grasses, $30; for the best Farm, $35; for the best and most economical method of recovering worn out fields, $30—Total, $155.

In 1817 and 1818, the Society received a grant from the Legislature of $200 each year, amounting to $400. The latter year, the anniversary in October was rendered memorable by the first ploughing match that was ever witnessed in Berkshire. The brightness of the morning and the novelty of the scene brought thousands, many of them from a distance, at an early hour, to witness the spirit and rivalry of the occasion. There were but two premiums offered, and only four competitors, three of whom resided in Pittsfield. There was but one cast iron plough, three with wooden mould-boards,—wrought iron shares with steel points. In December of that year, a committee was appointed in each town in the county, to solicit, in their respective towns, aid for the Society, and in January, 1819, a memorial was presented to the Legislature, asking for additional aid to its funds. Up to this time, it appears the Society had dispensed $3,647 92, to advance its objects, and were then indebted to the amount of $600. There were, of original subscribers, who yearly paid $5 each, 56; of those who paid $2 each, 12—making the number of actual members only 68, and the amount received from them $204. The whole number of applicants for premiums on crops that year was only 24; of these 15 were in Pittsfield, 4 in Lanesboro, 2 in Richmond, 1 in Dalton, 1 in Lee, and 1 in Great Barrington. The crops entered were as follows:—on corn 17 entries, winter wheat 2, on spring wheat 10, on rye 8, on peas 5, on potatoes 2, maple orchard 1. As an inducement to farmers from more remote parts of the county to bring in their animals for exhibition, Mr. Melville, the President of the Society, announced through the papers, some days previous to the exhibition, that he would furnish good pasturage, gratis, on the day previous, and the two days of the fair, at his farm, near the village, for all animals intended for show, premium, or ploughing match.

At this early period, a decline in the potato crop was noticed in the report on agriculture, and the committee called the attention of farmers to raising "other roots." Improvements in the condition of barns, yards, &c., were spoken of, as also increasing efforts in the saving and application of manures, and the more general and successful use of plaster. At this year's anniversary, only three competitors entered for the ploughing match, and the ploughs used were, "one made after the model of Mr. Melville's celebrated Berkshire plough," one "an imported iron plough," (called the Scotch plough we think,) and the third, "the common Shaker plough." The time occupied in ploughing one quarter acre was, 32 minutes by the first, 34 by the second, and 36 minutes by the third team, "each with one yoke of oxen; the latter only had a driver." The funds appropriated for maple and apple orchards met, in the former but one, and in the latter no applicant. The one entry for maples, was for those set by the wayside, a very commendable practice, but as the committee did not consider the trees thus set as "an orchard," no premium was given. Of the fifteen premiums awarded on domestic animals, eighteen were from Pittsfield, and one each from Dalton, Lanesboro, Lenox, Becket and Richmond—the latter for the then celebrated ox "Berkshire," fattened by Warren Beebe of Richmond, the ox weighing 2,548 lbs!

The premiums on domestic manufactures were destined to a wider circulation, and that for the largest quantity of manufactured articles in her family made within the year, was awarded to Mrs. Sarah Perkins of Becket, for the *fourth* time. As it may interest the ladies of this age to know the extent to which this art was carried in families at that early day, we subjoin the amount manufactured by Mrs. Perkins' household, consisting of herself and four girls, in 1818, which is as follows: "four hundred and forty-eight yards of fulled cloth, one hundred and seventy-one and one-fourth yards of flannel, fifty-three yards of carpeting, one hundred and forty-two and three-fourths yards of table linens and linen cloths, making in all eight hundred and four and one-half yards of cloth." In 1820, the Society invited the plough-makers to an exhibition and trial of ploughs, but we do not learn from the record that any ploughs were exhibited, or the invitation in any way heeded. This year, also, the committees on agriculture recommended the cultivation of hops, and the use of home brewed beer for the drink of the farm, instead of "pernicious, poison, ardent spirits." In 1822, we find the number of members of the Society increased to 165, inhabiting the extreme North and South ends, and, with the exception of some of the mountain towns, the intervening portions of the county. Better animals are spread over its surface, both in herds and flocks,—the latter having been essentially improved by the enterprise of Messrs. Merrick & Colts, and J. Allen of Pittsfield, with many in other towns. We find the premium list on animals extended to thirty-four specifications; that on crops to thirty-one; and on domestic manufactures to seventeen, the proposed awards amounting to five hundred and twenty-five dollars.

Leaving the Society in this flourishing condition, enjoying the patronage of the State, the co-operation of the intelligent and enterprising of both sexes throughout the county, and the blessing of Heaven on its labors, we now pass over the glorious results of its annual labors and festive joys for ten years, to compare the results which show its triumph. We here find an extended premium list, embracing among its novelties the offers of premiums on the kitchen garden, the mulberry orchard and sewing silk and cocoons, while for the ploughing match six premiums of $35 are offered, when at our last glance only three competitors entered the arena of contest; and eight ox and four horse teams enter and contend for the prizes, in a damp, uncomfortable day, and at an early hour. We find too, in the hall of manufactures, that the useful does not occupy the whole time and skill of the daughters of Berkshire, but, that improving taste and growing skill invite them to the ornamental arts which are brought forth to grace the festivities of the farmer's holiday.

Ten years more—1842. What changes it exhibits, what triumphs it proclaims, what hopes it encourages! The farmers' granaries are all filled, so that there can be no lack of bread in the land. New and more convenient buildings have arisen, and refreshing shades protect them from the suns of summer and the wintry blast. Pharaoh's lean kine no longer devour the land, but have given place to trim, sleek, docile animals, which feed to the full, and gambol in luxuriant pastures. Flocks of the finest fleece range in fatness upon all the hills. The church and the school room assume new and attractive features, and every thing demonstrates the upward and onward tendency of man. Go with us to the farmers' holiday. Those pens which once occupied a small position around the "big elm" are no longer to be found, but have increased in number and capacity until they cover a broad field! The old town hall has passed away, and a new and spacious structure covers its site, and its high, broad and noble hall is filled to overflowing with the workings of art and offerings of nature. The plowing match! Twenty-one teams enter in competition, and thousands, embracing those who attended at the first similar occasion, the young and the fair, all with buoyant hopes and joyful reminiscences—all are there to witness the struggle and the triumphs. The old church! It stands—crowds gather round its portals, its bell sends forth its merry peals, soft music floats upon the breeze, and the banners of peace and rural festivity unfurl in the mellow air. The old church drinks in from the multitude until its capacity is filled to overflowing, and thousands have been obliged to turn away in disappointment, from the scenes to be enacted there. The organ swells forth its sweet anthem, and responsive voices catch its thrilling notes. The voice of prayer and thanksgiving is heard there, and all the services go on as of yore, only that hearts now made strong by success engage in more decisive action.

The Berkshire Agricultural Society, at its anniversary in 1853, consisted of about 400 members who were entitled to the privileges of the association by the payment of one dollar a year. Persons not members, have, from the commencement, been required to pay two dollars to enable them to compete for premiums. Ladies, however, are excepted. Any one can compete in domestic manufactures without cost, and this is a wise arrangement, for the interest they give to the exhibitions is more than equivalent to all they receive. The Society has a respectable fund, and draws annually from the State $600, which is applied for premiums. In 1853, there were twelve entries of winter wheat; nineteen of spring wheat; twenty-three of rye; thirty-seven of corn; forty-one of oats; ten of meslins, and a creditable number of barley, peas, buckwheat, potatoes, carrots, ruta bagas and apple orchards, and the amount of premiums awarded on them was $207. Twelve dollars were awarded on fruit, and nine dollars on garden vegetables. There were forty lots of butter and eleven of cheese, on which $28 were awarded. Sixteen dollars were given on agricultural implements. There were more than twenty entries for ploughing, and premiums awarded to the amount of $54. The exhibition of domestic animals was large, and drew premiums to the amount of $389, while the countless array of domestic manufactures drew $94, making a total of $809, which, according to ancient usage, was mostly paid in silver plate.

We have devoted a large space to the origin and progress of this Society, from the fact of its being one of the earliest and oldest institutions of the kind in our country. Although this Society claims date among the earliest of the kind—with fearful prejudices to contend with, and many other serious obstacles to meet—it was not long pursuing its wearisome course alone. The enterprise, intelligence and wealth which had been accumulating in the fertile valley of the Connecticut from its earliest settlement, saw the beautiful tree which had sprung up in the more unpropitious soil of Berkshire, and admired its spreading branches and the fair fruit it had already begun to mature; and sought to see so graceful and good a tree casting its shadow over their own favored territory. Accordingly, an association was formed and incorporated in 1818, as "The Hampshire, Hampden, and Franklin Agricultural Society," covering the territory of those three counties. Since the

the formation of the latter Society, the two have derived benefits from each other's experience, and, for the earlier period of their existence, each was discouraged by similar difficulties. But enterprising men East of the Green Mountains were as numerous, and as stout hearted as those of Berkshire, and for the thirty years succeeding its formation, the Society East of the mountains probably accomplished more than did that on the West. There was a larger population to sustain it, and consequently, more wealth. The fine valley that lies across their territory from North to South, gave them a precedence in soil which must have operated to their advantage. Especially in grazing, and in the fattening of animals, they became pre-eminent. More general attention was paid to the culture of the finer fruits there than in the Western county.

The growing of the mulberry and feeding of silkworms were commended to more general attention in the four Western Counties as early as 1835, and, although much ground was sown to these trees in Berkshire, the principal transactions in the business were in the river towns of the Connecticut. From climatic difficulties and other causes, the excitement soon passed away. In 1847, the exhibition was manifestly a great improvement on that of former years. There were 300 head of horned cattle exhibited, very many of them of the choicest and best varieties.

In this region, earlier attention was given to rearing fine horses than in any other section of the Commonwealth, so that when the young "Justin Morgan" emigrated to Vermont in 1798, the valley was in no way deficient in fine horses. At the Society's Exhibition in 1847, there were ninety-six horses on exhibition, or nearly one-fifth as many as there were of horned animals, while the yokes of working oxen present numbered 172. The exhibition of fruit this year appears to have been of an increased quantity and superior quality. Grapes, peaches and pears were presented in such numbers as to give assurance of the adaptation of the soil and climate to their growth, in sufficient quantities, at least, for home consumption, while apples "as plenty as blackberries," graced the festival.

In 1848, the exhibition was pronounced as in some things falling short, while, in others, it was ahead of all former shows. The number of fine horses exceeded 150, while the show of fine fruits was magnificent. All subsequent exhibitions of the Society up to the present time, go to show the increasing interest in behalf of the objects it was designed to promote. Each year extends the sphere of aid and encouragement, by liberal offers of premiums on new and necessary articles, calculated to promote the general thrift and prosperity of the circle of its labors. This Society was the earliest in Western Massachusetts that distributed any portion of its premiums in agricultural publications, a practice which cannot be too soon or too generally adopted by all similar institutions.

This Society and the Berkshire covered too large and inconvenient a tract of territory, successfully to bring in all the population they contained, and the various products with which they abounded. Especially, farmers remote from the exhibition, found it both difficult and expensive to exhibit their fine animals, which, in many instances, would occupy four days, including those of shows, to effect the object. Consequently, when the utility of the thing was fairly tested beyond a doubt, it was very natural that similar institutions should spring up within the territory over which those societies extended their patronage.

Southern Berkshire, with a large population, and a territory whose productive resources were rapidly advancing, whose herds exhibited the most successful results from thorough breeding, and whose flocks were clothed in garments of delicate fineness, as early as 1841 felt the inconvenience from which they suffered by their distance from the County Show, and in the autumn of that year, Joshua B. Lawton, Hon. Increase Sumner and others in Great Barrington, considered the propriety of forming a society in that section, not with a view to interfere, in any way, with the parent society, but to point out its objects, and secure its benefits, by a more general development of its system of operation.

Such were some of the arguments which led to the formation of the Housatonic Agricultural Society. The following winter a meeting was called, a constitution adopted, and two hundred and fifty members, at an annual tax of $1 each, enrolled their names, and the "Housatonic Agricultural Society" had entered upon a promising existence. The first exhibition was, throughout, such as would have honored an older and more mature institution. Some slight feelings of jealousy for a while existed, and fears were indulged that this Society would operate to the injury of the parent one, but these doubts were groundless and were soon buried; and the two societies now advance in harmonious brotherhood, the younger having increased the number of members and funds of the elder, which, in turn, furnishes members from central Berkshire to aid the other. This Society was incorporated in 1848, since which its course has been prosperous, making glad all that come within its influence. It has a fund of $6,000, three hundred and seventy-five members, and annually pays out premiums to the amount of nearly $900.

The Hampden County Agricultural Society, was incorporated in 1844, and the first meeting was called by Hon. W. B. Calhoun, to be held on the 9th of April that year. This meeting was numerously attended by people from all sections of the county. The following persons were chosen officers of the Society under the Constitution: Hon. Wm. B. Calhoun, President: thirteen Vice Presidents; James R. Crooks, Treasurer; and D. M. Bryant, Secretary. At a meeting of the society the following June, it was voted to hold the first cattle show and fair in Springfield, the 16th and 17th days of the following October, provided the citizens of Springfield should before that time contribute $600 to the Society's funds. The first exhibition drew together a large concourse, and the number of beautiful animals fully showed forth its promise of future usefulness. In 1845, the amount paid in premiums was $269. In 1852, it was $485, though about double that sum was offered. The Society has now more than five hundred members, and a permanent fund of $4,860. The following persons have presided over this Society: Wm. B. Calhoun, John Mills, Josiah Hooker, Thomas J. Shepard, and Francis Brewer. Secretaries: D. M. Bryant, S. L. Parsons, Henry Vose and A. A. Allen. Its present prospects are of a flattering nature.

Some eight or ten years since, a few spirited individuals in Amherst got up a Society, and held a show and fair which was then designated as the Amherst Cattle Show. Not liking that the good people of that town should have all the glory of the enterprise, the farmers of the neighboring towns soon came in, bringing their herds, their flocks, and manufactures. Committees of inspection and award were appointed, though no premiums were paid in the early history of the Society. This state of things, however, did not long continue. The funds of the Society increased liberally, and so did its ranks, until it numbered its adjuncts in all parts of the County, and took the name of, and was incorporated in 1850, as "The Hampshire Agricultural Society." The amount of premiums given out by it the first year of its corporate existence was about $350. The amount now paid is something over $500. This Society's premiums cover a large variety of articles, and its encouragement has brought out new efforts in all branches of rural industry and economy, especially in raising fruits, composting manures, and reclaiming swamps.

The Hampshire Agricultural Society has thus far nobly realized the expectations of its founders. They earnestly sought to increase the surplus products of the farms, and to improve the stock of Hampshire County. They established this Society as an efficient means to this end. They had not failed to observe that the Massachusetts farmers might sell all they could raise, under the old methods of farming. Yet the markets of the State, made easy of access by railroads, could not be supplied by Massachusetts farmers alone. So rapid was the increase of population, that vast quantities of corn, wheat, rye, cattle and horses were annually brought to Massachusetts markets from other States. Massachusetts farmers might increase their products by improved methods of cultivating the soil. They might raise and sell better stock. Science and experiment would slowly determine the most gainful methods. Any considerable increase in surplus farm products and in the number and value of cattle, would add to the wealth of the State. Hampshire County might largely share in this increase of wealth.

To increase the agricultural wealth of the County much new information was indispensible. Addresses, lectures and books on farming, manures, stock and kindred topics, must be procured. That which was beyond the power of individual enterprise, was within the means of an agricultural association, co-operating with other associations of a kindred character. A society with annual exhibitions might encourage skillful farming and stock raising by premiums. Such were some of the leading views of the founders of the Hampshire Agricultural Society. To Alfred Baker of Amherst belongs the honor of heading the petition for the act of incorporation, and of being foremost in procuring permanent funds by enlisting life members. He has served as President since its organization. J. W. Boyden of Amherst has, from the start, given his best efforts as Secretary, to promote the success of the exhibitions, and enhance the value of the publications of the Society. The permanent fund is $3,522, and the number of life members 800. The annual addresses have been delivered by Hon. M. P. Wilder of Dorchester, Prof. W. C. Fowler of Amherst, W. C. Goldthwait of Westfield, and Rev. F. D. Huntington of Boston. An admirable course of lectures before the Society was delivered in the winter of 1850–1, by Prof. J. A. Nash of Amherst, editor of the Connecticut Valley Farmer. The publications of the Society have been extensively useful.

The Franklin County Agricultural Society was incorporated March 20, 1850, and the Society was organized under the act, on the 22d of May, in that year. The persons named in the act of incorporation were H. G. Newcomb, Daniel R. Waite and W. T. Davis. Henry W. Clapp was chosen President for that year, and was succeeded by Hon. Henry W. Cushman, who held the office in 1851, 1852 and 1853. This Society commenced in 1850 with about 250 members, and, at the present time, numbers nearly 700, about 30 of whom are females. They are all *life members*, and, taking the two latter facts into account, we have no doubt that the Society is well based, and will go on prospering and to prosper, until it has remodeled that beautiful and productive county. At its last anniversary, the Society distributed over two hundred and twenty premiums upon the various articles exhibited, among which were a large number of fruits. The terms of life membership in this Society are the payment of five dollars by males, and two dollars and fifty cents by females, at the time of joining the Society. The payment of ten dollars at one time constitutes an honorary life member, and twenty-five dollars an honorary life trustee, with a free ticket to the annual dinner. These arrangements may appear to the reader rather novel, but they are most commendable. Some will think it an innovation unheard of and unjust to tax the ladies, but in these days of women's rights, what can be more appropriate, or better calculated to promote success? If some of our older sister societies will adopt the same course, they will lose nothing in success by the operation.

In 1852, a number of spirited individuals in Worthington formed an association called the Worthington Agricultural Society, of which E. H. Brewster was chosen President, and John Adams, Secretary. There were five vice presidents and five directors. The Society numbered about one hundred and fifty members the first year of its existence, and the Show and Fair of that year gave full assurance of triumphant success. In March, 1853, the limits of the Society were extended to the neighboring towns, and the name changed to that of the "Green Mountain Agricultural Society," and its members are found in Cummington, Peru, Middlefield, Chester, Norwich, Chesterfield and Worthington, and it at present numbers two hundred and fifty members. Although the Society, thus far, has awarded no premiums, it is evident from the extension of its limits and increase of its members, that it is a favorite with the intelligent farmers in that region, and is accomplishing desirable and satisfactory results. Weekly meetings of the members are held at some seasons of the year, for the discussion of the subjects connected with its prosperity.

A similar association exists in Westfield, known as the "West Hampden Agricultural Society," which, it appears, originated in that town some ten years since, as simply a cattle show, when the farmers brought in their fine animals for exhibition, had a dinner and good cheer, and went home happier and wiser for the gathering. For the last six years, the exhibition has been extended to the products of the farm, mechanical skill, works of art, &c. The association is said to have arisen under the direct influence of Silas Root, Esq., and the members meet occasionally during the winter, for discussion.

A similar Society has Palmer for its nucleus, and it is called the East Hampden Agricultural Society, which, based on similar grounds with the last named, is accomplishing much for the interests of all classes.

Intimately connected with Agricultural Societies, and operating to produce the most successful results, we find the "Farmers' Clubs." The earliest of these was organized in Stockbridge and Lenox, in 1846, and is denominated the North Stockbridge Farmers' Club. It commenced by holding meetings once in two weeks, at the houses of the members, for the discussion of subjects relating to the farm and the garden. As early as 1849, committees were appointed to view crops and report thereon, and a day was set apart in October for the exhibition of animals, fruit, vegetables and domestic manufactures. These meetings have been annually held in October, since that time, and in each year the meetings for discussion are kept up from October to April. The results of the club have thus far fully realized the expectations of its warmest friends.

A similar association was organized in Sunderland, in the County of Franklin, in January, 1833. We cannot better illustrate its object than by quoting from its constitution:

"ART. 2. The object of the club shall be the circulation of general intelligence and practical instruction in all the branches of agriculture, horticulture and floriculture:

"1st. By the establishment of discussions, lectures, exhibitions, experiments and other means, for the general cultivation of knowledge on subjects embraced by the club.

"2d. By procuring the most rare and valuable kinds of seeds, scions, plants, shrubs and trees.

"3d. By the establishment of a correspondence and exchange with other bodies interested in the same object.

"4th. By planting shade trees on all the avenues of the town."

This association was formed with twenty-four members, yet the number, as we may well suppose, is rapidly increasing.

As early as 1846, an association was formed in Northampton, called the Ornamental Tree Society, which has done much to beautify the spacious streets of that town. With its progress in late years we are unacquainted, but suppose it is incorporated with the Horticultural Society of that place, whose widening influence has accomplished so much in the last few years.

The Berkshire Horticultural Society was formed in 1847, and at present consists of about 120 members: one-third, at least, ladies. The exhibitions have thus far been of a creditable character, and have fully attested the adaptation of our soil and climate, not only to the most delicious fruits, but to fine vegetables and beautiful flowers.

In the pursuit of other objects, the improvement in the breeds of the useful and beautiful horse had met with undue neglect from the mass, even of our more enterprising farmers, until the Spring of 1853, when public attention was called up in its behalf. In May of that year, George M. Atwater and others of Springfield, took the merits and neglects of this animal into more earnest consideration, and formed an association whose fruits were realized in the "First National Exhibition of Horses," in that city, on the 19th, 20th and 21st days of the following October. As Herculean as were the labors of getting up this splendid fete, every obstacle was removed almost as soon as it appeared, and the whole affair, to its minutest arrangement, succeeded to the entire satisfaction of the public, and the honorable triumph of the association. More than four hundred horses, from eleven different States of the Union, and from the provinces of Canada, were on exhibition, and a finer display of fine animals was never witnessed in our country, if in the world. It of course follows that the merits of this exhibition created a sensation through the nation, and, in consequence, among the large concourse who assembled to witness the pleasing spectacle, people from nearly every State in the Union were found; and there cannot be a doubt that the advantages of this show will continue to develop themselves more fully as long as the merits of the animal whose improvement it was designed to promote, are known and appreciated by our race.

We have thus noticed some of the associations which have arisen and are to-day in vigorous operation in Western Massachusetts, for the advancement of agriculture and its associate arts. May their number and influence nobly increase until their object is fully realized!

The changes which have arisen, giving present agricultural prospects an entirely different aspect from those of early times, are such as to entitle them to notice in this place. In our early history, the markets were distant, difficult to approach, and, compared with those of our day, unremunerative when reached. From the valley of the Connecticut, the surplus of produce,—wheat, rye, corn and beef—which constitute the principal products for sale, were taken to Connecticut River, thence to Hartford, and there shipped for the Boston, sometimes for the New York, market. In Berkshire no better state of things existed. There the produce of the grain field, and the beef and pork, were drawn over the high hills and ill-wrought roads to the Hudson, and thence shipped to New York, from which distant port, now reached in a few hours, no returns were expected under from five to six weeks. The railroads which now extend through almost every town give to every farmer a proximity to these markets, while the numerous manufacturing villages, springing up by every waterfall, or where steam offers its aid in competition with water power, give to many a better market than cities or seaports can afford, at their own doors. With these facilities, who can wonder that our farmers are becoming a successful and an independent class of people?

In the changes which have taken, and are taking place, we find that wheat, once a staple, is raised by comparatively few farmers, and that rye is much less sown that formerly, while corn, always a favorite crop, promises for a long time to retain the confidence of the cultivator. Oats, from the ever ready market, are largely sown, too often to the injury of the farm, if not the farmer. Buckwheat, from the increasing demand for it, as a breadstuff, is receiving increasing attention, especially in the mountain towns, and those West of them. A rotation of crops, attended by deeper ploughings, is doing for the earth what shallow ploughings and continued croppings of the same crop had undone, giving it new strength and greater productiveness. Swamp lands are being reclaimed into beautiful and productive meadows and cornfields. The compost heap, on many farms, is aiding the scanty manure heap in its fertilizing influence. New articles of cultivation are being introduced, and giving assurance of success which will lead to their more general adoption. Tobacco, once the crop of the South, is now successfully cultivated all along the valley of the Connecticut, and its range of climate is each year extending, while the broom corn, so important in household matters, is a profitable and very successful crop.

The increasing attention paid to fruit growing, and the success attending it, give assurance that it will ere long be one of the main occupations of the farmer. With a soil easily made favorable, and a climate just the thing, success must ultimately give it a high position in the catalogue of our products.

This paper cannot be more fitly closed than by an exhibition of the agricultural wealth and resources of Western Massachusetts, as given by the State valuation tables of 1850. The facts here given will furnish a standing point from which to view the past, and a landmark for reference in the promising future, as well as a general standard of comparison between the several counties. It will be remembered that these tables are annual averages, and not the records of a definite year. Hampden County had 13,151 acres of meadow land, and cut from the same 11,830 tuns of hay; 87,588 acres of pasturage, capable, with the after-feed of the farm, of keeping 21,917 cows; 48,386 acres of woodland exclusive of pasture land inclosed; 70,854 acres of unimproved land, 39,446 acres unimprovable; 70,017 acres of tillage land; 7,931 acres of land in roads; 5,126 horses, 4,005 oxen 4 years old and upwards, 10,319 cows, 8,149 steers and heifers, 13,700 sheep, 5,058 swine. The county produced 2,264 bushels of wheat, 101,487 bushels of rye, 121,572 bushels of oats, 222,536 bushels of Indian corn, 2,422 bushels of barley, 23 tuns of broom corn, and 33,404 tuns of hay from 31,575 acres of upland mowing.

The County of Hampshire possessed 4,790 horses, 3,555 oxen, 10,495 cows, 8,345 steers and heifers, 29,760 sheep, 5,068 swine, 10,988 acres of meadow land, from which were cut 10,195 tuns of hay, 105,900 acres of pasturage capable of pasturing 22,100 cows, 52,539 acres of woodland, 45,098 acres of unimproved land, 25,036 acres unimprovable, 8,491 acres of land used for roads, and 26,978 acres of tillage land. The annual production of the land was 4,083 bushels of wheat, 61,855 bushels of rye, 229,020 bushels of Indian corn, 4,576 bushels of barley, 1,512 lbs. of hops, 10 5-8 tuns of tobacco, 622 tuns of broom corn, and 39,437 tuns of hay, from 40,308 acres of upland mowing.

Franklin County possessed 4,377 horses, 4,715 oxen, 10,764 cows, 11,461 steers and heifers, 24,973 sheep, 4,216 swine, 13,591 acres of meadow land, yielding 12,270 tuns of hay, 13,753 acres of pasturage, capable (with the after-feed of the whole farm,) of supporting 25,818 cows; 72,959 acres of woodland, 67,415 acres of unimproved land, and 47,214 acres unimprovable; 7,662 acres used for roads, 20,493 acres of tillage land, including orchards tilled. The production was 3,099 bushels of wheat, 43,304 bushels of rye, 99,296 bushels of oats, 242,245 bushels of Indian corn, 7,691 bushels of barley, 40,100 pounds of hops, 330 tuns of broom corn, and 38,336 tuns of hay from 36,780 acres of upland mowing.

Berkshire County had 7,031 horses, 4,084 oxen, 18,142 cows, 11,970 steers and heifers, 74,042 sheep, 6,150 swine, 9,321 acres of meadow, producing 10,880 tuns of hay, 151,522 acres of pasturage, capable of supporting, with the after-feed of the farm, 39,242 cows; 104,397 acres of woodland, 113,068 acres of unimproved land, of which 63,321 acres are unimprovable; 10,668 acres of land in roads, and 68,993 acres of upland mowing, which produced a yearly amount of 69,115 tuns of hay. The product of 30,945 acres of tillage land was 5,874 bushels of wheat, 53,548 bushels of rye, 312,611 bushels of oats, 219,948 bushels of Indian corn, 10,868 bushels of barley, and 20 tuns of broom corn.

CHAPTER III.

THE RAILROADS OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

No agency has tended so generally and so powerfully to the development of the resources and prosperity of Western Massachusetts as railroads. They have opened markets to the farmer, easy transportation to the manufacturer, and facilities of communication to men of business. Every producing and business interest has felt their influence for good, and now leans upon them as the right arm of its strength. Were all that has been done for Western Massachusetts by railroads struck out of existence, the section would relatively be thrown back a century in the path of its progress. The necessity for a channel of communication between Boston and the opening West, was fully appreciated many years ago, and many years before that channel was completed. It is sixty-four years since the project was broached of connecting the Eastern coast of Massachusetts with the waters of the Hudson, by means of a canal. During the same year of the incorporation of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Connecticut River, 1792, Henry Knox and his associates were incorporated for the purpose of constructing a canal from Boston Harbor to Connecticut River, but the people were exhausted by the Revolutionary struggle, the State was indebted and would not aid in the undertaking, and, after the necessarily unavailing efforts of the projectors, the scheme was abandoned, not to be revived again until the passage of nearly a third of a century. In February, 1825, the Legislature adopted Resolves for ascertaining the practicability of constructing a canal from Boston to the Connecticut River, and for extending an avenue of trade in some form from that point to the Hudson. A Board of Commissioners was appointed, and Loammi Baldwin employed as engineer. After a survey, the project was declared feasible, and a report was made, strongly urging the construction of the work upon the State. But the State again allowed the matter to drop—very fortunately as the result has proved—for, soon afterwards, the advantage of the railway over the canal became obvious, and measures were instituted that resulted, after a long period of struggle and discouragement, in the construction of the Western Railroad, two hundred miles in length, uniting the cities of Boston and Albany, and now constituting one of the most important lines of travel and transportation in the United States.

On the 14th of June, 1827, a Board of Commissioners was appointed, for the survey of one or more routes for a railway between the points last named. The Board had comparatively a short space of time to perform so large a work, before the meeting of the succeeding Legislature, but they worked diligently, and were able in their report, made on the 29th of January, 1828, to give the project a form, decide on its feasibility, roughly estimate its cost, and review the exigencies and interests which demanded its completion. The Board examined two routes—denominated respectively the Northern and the Southern—the former crossing the Connecticut at Northampton; the latter at Springfield. While both routes were examined, a survey of the Southern route was alone attempted, and with the exception of two short sections, the attempt was confined to the West side of the Connecticut. On that side the survey was perfected from West Springfield to Greenbush. The Commissioners presented a table of inclinations, being at no point more than 80 feet to the mile, and then went on to discuss the capacities of *horse power*, for steam was then only in the stage of early development. By a careful collection of statistics, it was estimated that for 4 3-4 miles of the road from the Connecticut to the Hudson, it would require either two horses, or the full exertion of one, to draw eight tuns, while for 8 miles it would require the exertion which one horse is capable of making during half of his working hours. Twenty-seven miles were within the limits of easy exertion for a horse, and the remaining 62 1-2 miles would require only a fraction varying from nothing to 80 pounds. One important item embraced in the report is the amount of transportation between several towns on the route, and the several markets of Boston, Albany and Hartford. Becket had 270 tuns at an average cost for transportation of $10;

Dalton 114 tuns, at $7,50; Chester 290 tuns at $20; Springfield 12,000 tuns; Northampton 9,200 tuns, the cost of transportation between both towns and Boston being $17 50 to $18 per tun. The conclusion, in a rough estimate, is, that the way-freight business of a road from Boston to Albany would be 84,360 tuns annually. The number of stage coach passengers on the route is given at 30,000 annually, which the Commissioners thought would be very much increased on the railroad. The report is very favorable on the whole, and is signed by Nahum Mitchell and Samuel McKay, Commissioners; and James F. Baldwin, Engineer.

The Legislature seems to have done nothing more with the subject than to submit it to the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements, consisting of Levi Lincoln, Nathan Hale, Stephen White, David Henshaw, Thomas W. Ward, Royal Makepeace, George Bond, William Foster and Edward H. Robbins, Jr., who submitted a full report to the Legislature on the 16th of January, 1829. Their ideas of the proper construction of a railway may be given in their own words: "It is found that the cost of a continuous stone wall, laid so deep in the ground as not to be moved by the effect of frost, and surmounted by a rail of split granite of about a foot in thickness and depth, with a bar of iron placed on the top of it, of sufficient thickness to form the track on which the carriage wheels shall run, is much less than that of the English iron rail, and that rails of this construction, so far as can be judged by experiments which have yet been made, possess all the advantages of durability, solidity and strength." This board also went into a discussion and measurement of horse power, and having examined the routes proposed, declared that passing through Worcester and Springfield to be the one which could be constructed at the smallest cost, be traveled with the greatest ease, and would accommodate the largest population. The estimated average cost per mile "under all probable contingencies" was $16,434 77, at which rate the whole road from Boston to Albany would cost $3,254,876 46. The *cost* for the transportation of a tun of freight from Boston to Albany was figured at $1 97, which was declared to be lower than the rates of any canals in the country, and which would effectually take the transportation of flour, from Albany to Boston, out of the hands of sloop navigation. The *cost* of taking 20 passengers from Boston, the road being provided with stationary powers, was estimated at $16 50 or 82 1-2 cents apiece; without stationary powers, $21, or $1 05 apiece. Adding $2 for toll it would make $2 82 or $3 05 apiece, "for conveyance from Boston to Albany in 22 hours." The Board also took up the discussion of steam, which had then been introduced into England to some extent, and, basing their reasoning on the relative cost of coal in that country and this locality, decided in favor of the horses.

In 1827, the amount exported from Albany to Boston was 16,861 tuns; from Troy 3,850 tuns; imported at Albany from Boston, 6,091 tuns; at Troy, 2,100 tuns, making an amount of 28,902 tuns. In giving an estimate of the amount of travel on the line, the Board say that there are six lines of stages running between Boston and Albany, on which eighteen stages, exclusive of extra coaches, generally well loaded, run through from Boston to Albany and return the same number of times weekly. Forty-five passengers per day traveled on the route, who would probably take the railway when built, while the way passengers numbered 30. This would raise the daily number to 75, or 23,475 per annum. These, at a toll of one cent per mile, or $2 for the whole distance, would pay towards the support of the road $46,950. On this amount, however, the Board calculated a large increase. The grand sum of the annual receipts of the road was estimated at $203,000. This embraces the estimated amount of increase that would follow the introduction of railway travel and transportation, although the Board acknowledge that "these amounts are not assumed with entire confidence." One result of the building of the road was foreseen and foretold with entire correctness, viz: the increase of the value of real estate along the line of the road, sufficient to cover its cost. In deciding upon the Southern route as the best, the Board had three lines in consideration, instead of two. By the Southern route, the distance from Boston to Albany was 198 miles, the elevation of the Worcester ridge being 918 feet, that of the Berkshire ridge 1,440 feet, and that West of the Housatonic 166 feet. By the middle route, which had Troy for its Western terminus, the distance from Boston was 210 miles, the hight of the Worcester ridge being 967 feet, the Berkshire ridge at Savoy 1,903 feet, and the New York ridge, 414. By the Northern route the distance was 190 miles, the elevation of the Worcester ridge being 1,051 feet, the Berkshire ridge, at Florida or Savoy, 1,886 feet, and the New York ridge 414 feet. The amount of these several elevations doubled, so as to include the descent, shows that the Southern route would embrace a change of level 1,520 feet less than the middle route, and 1,654 less than the Northern. This Board also closed with a recommendation to the Legislature to build the road with funds raised by loans in the name of the State, on stocks bearing 4 1-2 per cent. interest, payable quarterly, and reimbursable at any time that might be decided upon. Appended to their report was a very full report, with maps, by the engineer, James F. Baldwin, embracing, in detail, the items of the several surveys.

The policy of constructing railways under the direction and with the money of the State, became, of course, a prominent topic of discussion. One of the foremost champions of this policy was Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge. A pamphlet appeared from his pen, covering twenty-one pages, in which his views were strongly set forth. The following is a quotation from that document:

> "The question is, whether such a road shall become private or public property, and no question can be plainer. The present is a crisis in the fortunes of our State. Let us not take a false course. It is the first step that too often directs the last. What is there worse in monopoly, than giving things to people to whom they do not belong? What right have individuals to arms of the sea, great rivers, bridges intended for general use, long lines of canal, and roads which every body must pass over? What would be worse than for the State to monopolize its mines of coal, the steam engine or the magnet? Individuals make the best use of these. Roads, however, belong to the community, and the railroad, so far as public use is designed by it, is a gift of the arts to States. It is among the few improvements that a State can most successfully manage. What is intended for the beneficent use of the great public should *never be placed in private hands*. This is indeed half the essence of our Republican government."

But the Legislature did not agree with Mr. Sedgwick, and that class of economists whom he represented, and took no measures beyond the early incorporation of the Boston and Worcester Railroad Company, to effect the object contemplated in the surveys it had completed. On the 15th of March, 1833, Nathan Hale, David Henshaw, George Bond, Henry Williams, Daniel Denny, Joshua Clapp and Eliphalet Williams and their associates, received a charter with the name of the WESTERN RAILROAD CORPORATION, for the purpose of constructing a road from Worcester, the terminus of the Boston and Worcester Railroad, to the line of the State of New York, with a capital limited to $2,000,000. The stock was taken by over 2,200 subscribers, averaging less than $1,000 each, with the condition that a part of the Eastern and Western portions of the road should be finished at the same time. The corporation was not organized until January, 1836, when the following gentlemen were elected Directors: John B. Wales, Edmund Dwight, George Bliss, William Lawrence, Henry Rice, John Henshaw, Francis Jackson, Josiah Quincy, Jr., and Justice Willard. Major William Gibbs McNeil was engaged as chief engineer, and Capt. Wm. H. Swift as resident engineer of the company. George Bliss of Springfield was appointed General Agent of the Corporation. The organization of the Directors was: President, Thomas B. Wales; Treasurer, Josiah Quincy, Jr.; and Ellis Gray Loring was appointed Clerk. On the 16th of January we find these gentlemen before the Legislature in a petition for an increase of capital, and aid from the State. They assert that another million of dollars will be necessary to complete the work, that the stock had been taken with a certainty of no direct profit to the stockholders, and had been procured only after great labor and repeated efforts, and that "no hope now remains but by an appeal to the liberality, justice and patriotism of the Legislature." They plead the policy and example of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, but, without proposing that Massachusetts should follow in the same track, they pray for an act of incorporation as a bank, to be called "The Western Railroad Bank," to be located in Boston, with a capital of five millions of dollars, the usual bank tax of which should be paid to the Western Railroad Corporation for twenty years. This plan, they say, will require no grant from the treasury, and furnish to the community bank capital which it needs. The new estimate of the cost of the road, from Worcester to the State line, was $30,000 a mile, including all appendages, fit for use. The Legislature did not grant the bank, but it passed an act increasing the capital of the road to $3,000,000, and directing the Treasurer of the State to subscribe $1,000,000 to the stock of the road. The act also embraced a provision for the choice of nine Directors, of which number three should be annually chosen by the Legislature, by joint ballot of the two Houses, and the residue by the stockholders at their annual meeting.

The surveys of the corporation commenced in April, 1836. Twenty miles of the road, commencing at Worcester, were put under contract in January, 1837, and work was commenced on that section in the month following. In June of the same year, the road from East Brookfield to Springfield was put under contract, and work commenced upon the section in July. The length of road from Worcester was 54 miles, and the highest grade (for a short distance only,) 50 feet per mile. On the first of January, 1838, twenty-seven miles had been fully graded, and stood ready for the superstructure, and the contracts had thus far been executed within the estimates. The route decided upon, West of the Connecticut, was 62 1-2 miles in length, the highest grade being 79 to 80 feet to the mile, making the whole distance 116 1-2 miles. The entire route was pronounced feasible for *locomotive* power, for the horse power project had for some years been counted among the things of the past. At the commencement of 1838, the Hartford and New Haven Railroad was in process of construction, and a charter had been granted to extend it to a connection with the Western Railroad at Springfield. The first two assessments on the stock of the Western Railroad were collected before the work commenced, and in 1837, the greater part of the third assessment was collected. The fourth assessment was due April 16, 1837, but the pressures of that disastrous year were such that it was suspended until the following September, and the three-quarters of the assessments on private stockholders, necessary to secure that of the State, was only secured then, after great and persevering labor. It was deemed impossible to collect the necessary amount from private stockholders, on the next assessment, and the directors resolved that unless they could get further aid from the State, they would suspend the work. Under these circumstances, they came again before the Legislature, declaring that if the work should be suspended for the lack of funds, it would result in the virtual annihilation of the $600,000 capital already expended, and, "in accordance with the voice of a special meeting of the stockholders held on the 23d of the previous November," praying for a loan of the credit of the State to the corporation "for eighty per cent. of the stock, by a State scrip having 30 years to run, bearing interest at 5 per cent. per annum, semi-annually, principal and interest payable in London to bearer, with warrants for the interest," and pledging for security the franchise of the road, together with the road and its appurtenances. On the 21st of February, 1838, their prayer was granted, by an act authorizing the issue of the scrip of the State to the amount of two millions one hundred thousand dollars. In the third annual report of the directors, made January 1, 1839, the estimated cost of the whole work had risen to $4,191,171 73. The crippled condition of the private stockholders rendered it impossible to collect of them any large proportion of their indebtedness, and there remained a sum, to be provided for, of nearly a million and a half. Under these circumstances, the corporation, in 1839, came before the Legislature for still further aid, the sum specified being $1,200,000. The aid was granted, with a provision that thereafter four of the directors of the corporation should be chosen by the Legislature.

On the first day of October, 1839, the road was opened to travel between Worcester and Springfield, and, on the 23d of that month, regular merchandise trains were established. The total cost of this part of the road, as stated in the Fourth Annual Report, was $1,972,985, or $36,135 per mile. The Fifth Annual Report, made after running the cars upon this part of the road during the season, and after experience had pointed out and secured other necessary expenditures, gave the whole actual cost as $2,016,970—a considerable advance. Meanwhile, the construction of the Western portion of the road was in progress, and here, too, the expenditures were outgrowing the estimates, so that, in 1841, the corporation was again before the Legislature for a loan of a million of dollars. The estimated balance wanting was $1,247,830 77, and the odd figures were to be filled by the stockholders. Again the Legislature answered the call, by the passage of an act authorizing the issue of the scrip of the State to the amount of $700,000, secured by a mortgage on the road, as in the previous loans.

At the commencement of 1842, the whole line of the road between Worcester and the Hudson River had been so far completed as to be opened for use, with the exception of 15 miles within the State of New York, which was run on the track of the Hudson and Berkshire Railroad. From the State line to Albany the road was nominally, at least, under the conduct of a New York corporation, with the name of the Albany and West Stockbridge Railway. This section was finished and opened for travel on the 12th of September of that year, and on that day the struggle and the toil of years had accomplished the long-sought object. In the Seventh Annual Report of the directors, the statistics of construction were given in detail. From the point of the junction of the road with the Boston and Worcester Road to the East abutment of the Connecticut River Bridge, the distance was 54 miles and 3,680 feet; from thence to the line of New York, 63 miles and 568 feet; from the State line to Greenbush dock, 38 miles and 1,180 feet, making the total of both roads 156 miles, and 148 feet. From the Boston depot to the Albany shore, the distance was 200 miles and 1,883 feet. Assuming that portion of the Boston and Worcester road in the immediate vicinity of Boston, as the base line, the following are the principal elevations, the fractions of a foot being omitted:—Charlton summit, 906 feet; the depot at Springfield, 71; Washington summit, 1,456; the track at the State line, 916. The road embraced 142 planes, of which 12 were level, 83 ascending West, and 47 descending West. The whole length of bridges on the road was one mile and 812 feet, the bridge over the Connecticut—the longest on the route—being 1,264 feet long, of 7 spans, and of the structure of Howe's patent. The total cost of the road, with the amount estimated for future additions, was $5,814,807 52; that of the Albany and West Stockbridge Road $1,751,984 05, making a grand total of $7,566,791 57.

The report of the business of the road will do well to compare with the early estimates. The through passengers amounted to 18,570; way passengers 171,866; total, 190,436. The amount of merchandise was equal to 39,820 tuns. The total receipts of the year for freight and passengers, were $512,688.

Only twelve years have passed since the report was made, and the revolution which has been wrought in the entire business interests of the line through which it passes, is apparent to every one, and justifies the anticipations and predictions of its early friends.

The following table will represent the total receipts and expenses and total number of passengers of the Western and Albany and West Stockbridge Railroads, from 1842 to 1853 inclusive:

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Passengers.
1842	$512,688	266,619	190 436
1843	573,882	303,973	200,965
1844	753,752	814,074	220,257
1845	813,480	370,621	223,633
11 months in			
1846	878,417	412,679	265,664
1847	1,325,336	676,689	888.311
1848	1,332,068	652,357	405,614
1849	1,343,810	588,328	435,804
1850	1,366,252	607,549	531,317
1851	1,355,894	597,756	479,905
1852	1,389,373	656 687	497 293
1853	1,525,223	778,487	656,194

The following table represents the number of barrels of flour transported from Albany and Troy to Boston and intermediate points, from 1842 to 1853 inclusive:

	To Boston.	Other points.	Total.
1842	85,986	86,124	172,110
1843	123,366	120,878	244,239
1844	154,413	142,990	297,403
1845	181,797	146,386	328,183
11 months in			
1846	209.634	151,711	861,345
1847	513,851	188 649	702 500
1848	871,239	206,776	578,015
1849	827,694	262,471	590,165
1850	862,275	236,318	598,593
1851	267,078	189,570	456,643
1852	231,546	254,793	486,339
1853	264,474	207,330	471,804

The 19th annual report of the Directors represents that the cost of the whole line from Worcester to Greenbush up to Nov. 30, 1853, was $9,953,758 84. The equipment of the road consisted of 59 engines, 43 passenger cars, 9 baggage cars, 618 eight-wheel covered freight cars, 162 eight-wheel platform cars, 86 four-wheel covered freight cars, 20 gravel cars, and 46 hand-cars.

There are two sinking funds connected with the Western Railroad: *The Western Railroad Stock Sinking Fund,* and *the Western Railroad Loan Sinking Fund.* The first is the property of the Commonwealth, and is for the future purchase, or final redemption, of the scrip issued by the State for the payment of its original subscription of $1,000,000 to the stock of the road, and for meeting the accruing interest on that stock. The sources of this fund are the bonus originally paid on the scrip which was sold in London, the dividends of the road, and one-half of all moneys received for sales of the State's lands in Maine. In 1844, $75,000 of the moneys received under the provisions of the Treaty of Washington was added to the fund. The Western Railroad Loan Sinking Fund is the property of the Western Railroad Corporation, and is deposited with the Commonwealth as collateral security for the ultimate payment, by the corporation, of the $4,000,000 of State scrip issued to aid its operations. This fund is based on the amount of the premiums on the sales of the scrip, and one per cent. annually on the amount of the scrip, to be paid out of the earnings of the road, or, $40,000 a year. At the same time, the corporation pays annually the interest on the scrip. Both these funds, it is calculated, will fully answer their end in the accumulation of such an amount as shall redeem the respective orders of scrip to which they belong, at maturity.

The road was originally laid with one track, provision being made in the cuts and smaller bridges for two. The second track has been laid down the entire distance from Worcester to Springfield, with the exception of the section between Palmer and Warren.

It is but justice to preserve the names of those who were most efficient in carrying forward the road in the various early stages of the enterprise, and to whose efforts is now owed the incalculable good which the road has bestowed upon this portion of the State. The more prominent among these were George Bliss, Charles Stearns and Justice Willard of Springfield, Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge, Lemuel Pomeroy of Pittsfield, Nathan Hale, P. P. F. Degrand and Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Boston.

The Connecticut River Railroad divides the State from North to South, as the Western does from West to East. On the 1st of March, 1842, John Clarke, Samuel L. Hinckley, Stephen Brewer, Jonathan H. Butler, Winthrop Hillyer and their associates, received a charter as the NORTHAMPTON AND SPRINGFIELD RAILROAD CORPORATION, for the purpose of building a road "commencing within one mile of the Court House, (Northampton), crossing Connecticut River near Mt. Holyoke, and passing down the valley of said river on the East side thereof, through a portion of Hadley, South Hadley and Springfield, to meet the track of the Hartford and Springfield corporation at Cabotville, or diverging from said line, at or near Stony Brook in South Hadley, and passing over the plain, and crossing the Chicopee River near the Falls, uniting with the Western Railroad, Easterly of the depot in Springfield." The capital stock was limited to $400,000. On the 23d of February, 1844, the capital stock was increased by act of the Legislature to $500,000. On the 25th of January, 1845, Henry W. Clapp, Ralph Williams, Henry W. Cushman and their associates, were incorporated as the GREENFIELD AND NORTHAMPTON RAILROAD COMPANY, and were authorized to build a road over the route now traversed by the Connecticut River Railroad, North of Northampton. The capital stock was limited to half a million of dollars. The 8th section of the act of incorporation authorized the two corporations to unite in such a manner as could be agreed upon between them, and when united, to take the name of the CONNECTICUT RIVER RAILROAD COMPANY. The two companies were accordingly united on equal terms, in the following July, and thus was formed the Connecticut River Railroad Company. On the 21st of March, 1845, an act was passed, authorizing the Northampton and Springfield Company to change their route to its present location, viz: through parts of Easthampton, Northampton, (South Farms), and West Springfield, crossing the Connecticut at Willimansett. On the 16th of April, 1846, the Connecticut River Railroad Company were authorized to extend their road northward from Greenfield, to the Vermont State line. The Company was also authorized to increase its stock by an amount not exceeding $500,000.

The Connecticut River Road was opened from Springfield to Cabotville, four miles, on the 28th of February, 1845, and, from Springfield to Northampton, December 13, of the same year. The total receipts of the road, from freight and passengers, up to Jan. 1, 1846, were $13,521; expenditures, $5,519; net receipts, $8,001. On the 17th day of August, 1846, the road was opened from Northampton to South Deerfield, and on the 23d of the succeeding November, cars ran through from Springfield to Greenfield. The branch road from Cabotville to Chicopee Falls was completed and opened for use on the 8th of September, of the same year. The total receipts of the road for 1846 were $58,246 99; expenses, $21,752 43; net receipts, $36,494 56. The gross receipts of the year

1847, from January 1st to December 31st, were $123,951 61. On the first day of January, 1849, the road was completed to the South line of the State of Vermont, a distance of 52 miles from Springfield. During the year 1848, the entire receipts of the road were $165,242 13—an increase over those of the preceding year of $41,290 52. The number of passengers carried was 299,865, and the number of tuns of merchandise, 101,314. The earnings over expenses were $86,797 45. The total cost of the road was $1,798,825.

The road felt the necessity of an extension still further Northward, to form a connection with the lines converging at Bellows Falls, Vt., and on the 7th of December, 1849, entered into an agreement with the Ashuelot Railroad Corporation—a New Hampshire company—chartered to construct a road from the Cheshire Railroad in Keene to the Western shore of the Connecticut river, to form a junction there with the Connecticut River road, by which the Ashuelot road should be operated for ten years by the Connecticut River Company, the latter paying 7 per cent. per annum interest on the cost of the road. Difficulties subsequently rose between the two companies which ended in fixing the annual rent of the Ashuelot road at $30,000, and the Connecticut River Company commenced running its cars over the road on the 27th of January, 1851. The Vermont Valley Railroad, extending from Brattleboro to Bellows Falls, was opened during the Summer of the same year, and as the Vermont and Massachusetts road supplied the missing link between the terminus of the Connecticut River Road and Brattleboro, Northern travel was immediately diverted from the Ashuelot route to this new channel. This unlooked for embarrassment, while, to some extent retarding the prosperity of the road, is temporary, by its own terms, and, at no distant day, it cannot fail to be one of the best paying, as it is now one of the best conducted lines of railroad in the country. It has become the favorite line of travel from New York and the South to the White Mountains, and the travel upon it is constantly increasing.

The Connecticut River Road has properly 15 stations, the Springfield station, however, being that of the Western Railroad, which it occupies in common with the Hartford, New Haven and Springfield Road. The remaining stations, as they extend Northward, are Cabotville, Willimansett, Holyoke, Smith's Ferry, Northampton, Hatfield, Whately, South Deerfield, Deerfield, Greenfield, Bernardston and South Vernon. Besides these, there is a station in Cabotville, on the Chicopee Falls branch, and one at Chicopee Falls.

The directorship of the road has been as follows:

Northampton and Springfield Company.—Elected May 30, 1844, and again June 4th, 1845—Erastus Hopkins and Eliphalet Williams of Northampton, John Chase, Springfield; Phillip Ripley, Hartford; Samuel Henshaw, E. H. Robbins and James K. Mills, Boston.

Greenfield and Northampton Company.—Elected July 8, 1845—Henry W. Clapp and Cephas Root of Greenfield; Samuel Henshaw and James K. Mills of Boston; Phillip Ripley, Hartford; Erastus Hopkins, Northampton; H. W. Cushman, Bernardston.

Connecticut River Railroad Company.—(After the consolidation). Elected July 18, 1845—Erastus Hopkins, Samuel Henshaw, E. H. Robbins, James K. Mills, John Chase, Phillip Ripley, H. W. Clapp, all of whom were reelected in 1846 and 1847. Those elected in 1848 were E. Hopkins, H. W. Clapp, Samuel Henshaw, E. H. Robbins, Lemuel Pope, and Nathaniel H. Emmons, the two latter of Boston. The number of Directors and the time of choice having been changed, the following board was elected in January, 1849: E. Hopkins, E. H. Robbins, Samuel Henshaw, J. K. Mills, N. H. Emmons, Lemuel Pope, Ignatius Sargent, H. W. Clapp and J. S. Morgan, the latter of Hartford. In 1850, the same board was elected, with the exception of Gorham Brooks, in the place of E. H. Robbins, deceased. In 1851, the following board was chosen: Chester W. Chapin, Samuel Henshaw, James K. Mills, Lemuel Pope, I. Sargent, Gorham Brooks, E. G. Howe, H. W. Clapp, C. E. Forbes. In 1852, the same board, with the exception of Wm. Dwight in place of Lemuel Pope, deceased. In 1853, the same board with the exception of J. S. Morgan in place of Gorham Brooks, who declined re-election. In 1854, C. P. Huntington was elected in place of C. E. Forbes, who declined re-election, and the board stood as follows: C. W. Chapin, Samuel Henshaw, Ignatius Sargent, William Dwight, J. S. Morgan, E. G. Howe, H. W. Clapp, C. P. Huntington.

THE AMHERST AND BELCHERTOWN RAILROAD COMPANY was incorporated in 1851, with authority to construct a road from the depot of the New London, Willimantic and Palmer Railroad, crossing the Western Railroad at Palmer, and extending Northerly through the towns of Belchertown, Amherst, Leverett, Sunderland and Montague to the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad, at a point the most convenient to intersect the same in Montague. For the purposes of construction, the company were authorized to divide their road into two sections—one extending from Palmer to the village of Amherst, and the other from Amherst to Montague, and to commence the construction of the first section when one-half of their capital stock had been subscribed, and twenty per cent. thereon had been paid into their treasury. The company was organized June 30th, 1851. Luke Sweetser, Edward Dickinson, Ithamar Conkey, Myron Lawrence, Joseph Brown, Thomas H. Williams and Andrew C. Lippitt were chosen Directors, of whom Luke Sweetser was elected President. John S. Adams was chosen Clerk and Treasurer. The certificate stating that the requisite amount of capital had been subscribed and paid in, was filed in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, April 23d, 1852, and the work of grading the first section of the road was then commenced. The road from Palmer to Amherst was opened for use on the 9th day of May, 1853, and was operated by the New London, Willimantic and Palmer Railroad Company, under a lease to that company made for the term of ten years. This arrangement having proved unsatisfactory to both parties, the contract was dissolved on the 5th day of November, 1853, from which time the road has been operated by the Amherst and Belchertown company.

The road thus completed from Palmer to Amherst is a fraction less than twenty miles in length. The total cost of its construction, including land damages, fences and equipments, was $280,000. Two trains each way are now run over it, in connection with the Western Road. The Directors in 1854 were Willis Phelps, President; James

H. Clapp, Edward Dickinson, John Leland, Leonard M. Hills, Charles Adams and Thomas W. Williams. The Clerk and Treasurer remained the same. The road has now been in operation about three years; its business has been constantly increasing, both in freight and passengers; and, under the management of its present Superintendent, Mr. N. D. Potter, it is daily growing in favor with the public, and encouraging the hopes of its stockholders. A further act was granted the company, by the Legislature of 1854, extending by two years the time in which they may locate and construct their second section.

In May, 1847, the Connecticut Legislature chartered the New London, Willimantic and Springfield Railroad Company, "to locate, construct and finally complete a single, double or treble railroad, or way, in the city of New London, thence on the Westerly side of the river Thames to the city of Norwich, and thence to Willimantic and the North line of the State towards Springfield, in the State of Massachusetts." The original destination of the Northern terminus was subsequently changed to Palmer. In 1848, the company was chartered by the Massachusetts Legislature for continuing the road from the State line, a distance of nine miles, to the Western Railroad at Palmer depot. On the 13th of November, 1849, the road was opened from New London to Willimantic, a distance of 30 miles; in March, 1850, as far as Stafford Springs, about 50 miles, and on the 20th of September, 1850, through to Palmer, a distance of 66 miles, the length of road in Connecticut being 57 miles. The income of the company, from the commencement of the running of the trains to the 1st of November, 1851, was $168,459 81; expenditures, $86,200 22; net income, $82,259 59. The total cost of the road, on the 1st of November, 1853, was $1,524,329 66, and the total receipts of the road for the year ending on that day were $128,715 93, those from freight being $54,164. The cost of the portion of the road within the State of Massachusetts was $207,201 53. The bonus paid to the Amherst and Belchertown Railroad Co., for the relinquishment of the lease, (already alluded to in the history of that road) was $3,447.

The first officers of the road were—Thomas W. Williams, President; John Dickinson, Secretary and Treasurer; James N. Palmer, Superintendent and Engineer. The board of Directors in 1854 were Gordon L. Ford, President; Thomas Fitch, 2d, Vice President; Andrew M. Frink, Acors Barns, Henry P. Haven, Francis Allyn, Lyman Allyn, N. Shaw Perkins, Jr., Joseph Smith, Edward Crane and Daniel J. Willets.

THE HUDSON AND BERKSHIRE RAILROAD COMPANY was incorporated in 1832, to build a road from Hudson, N. Y., to the State line at West Stockbridge, a distance of 31 miles. Under the usual arrangements where State lines are crossed, the road was continued over the line into West Stockbridge, a distance of three miles, making the whole road 34 miles long. The whole line was constructed during the years 1836–7–8. The cost of the road with relaying, stands at about $850,000. The income from passengers in 1853 was, in round numbers, $18,000; from freight, $40,000. November 21, 1854, the road was purchased by the Western Railroad Co. for $150,000. It will be called the Boston and Hudson Railroad, and will only be run separately from Chatham Four Corners to Hudson.

In 1823, companies were incorporated in Massachusetts and Connecticut for the construction of a canal from New Haven, in the latter State, to Northampton, in the former. The Connecticut company was called the FARMINGTON CANAL CO., and the Massachusetts, the HAMPSHIRE AND HAMPDEN CANAL CO. The capital stock in this State was $300,000. The entire work from New Haven to Northampton cost $2,000,000. The canal was finished from New Haven to Westfield in 1830; to Northampton in 1834. The business on the canal proved far less profitable than was anticipated, and the stock came to be regarded as nearly worthless. The stock was finally transferred in both States to a new company, called the NEW HAVEN AND NORTHAMPTON CANAL CO., for the sum total of $300,000. This company was chartered in both States in 1836, and continued business in this State, more or less, until 1847, and would have done well, in the opinion of those who live on its line, had it not been for the competition of the railroads built along the line of the Connecticut river. This cause, or the fact that the canal is not adapted to the business wants of New England, threw it entirely into disuse.

In 1846, leave was granted by the Connecticut Legislature to the Canal Company, to build a railroad "on or near the line of the canal to the State line." The company intended a connection with Springfield, and on the Northern part of the route diverged from the Canal to connect with a road to be constructed from that point. This was in 1849, and in 1850, parties interested in its continuance on the line of the canal, procured an injunction on the progress of the road, based on the strict terms of the charter. The Connecticut Legislature, at its next session, gave liberty to continue the road in the direction of Springfield, but the charter was not obtained in Massachusetts for its continuation, and that project mis-carried.

The HAMPDEN RAILROAD COMPANY was chartered in 1852, with a capital of $175,000, for the purpose of building a road from Westfield to the State line in Granby, Ct. The NORTHAMPTON AND WESTFIELD RAILROAD COMPANY was chartered during the same year, with a capital of $200,000, for the purpose of continuing the road from Westfield to Northampton, the Northern terminus of the old canal. In 1853, the two roads were united by the name of the HAMPSPIRE AND HAMPDEN RAILROAD CORPORATION, the combined capital being $375,000. The road is twenty-five miles long, is nearly graded, and is to be finished at an early day. Leave was given the New Haven and Northampton Canal Company to sell corporate property in Massachusetts, to the Hampshire and Hampden Railroad Co., in 1853. The road passes through the towns of Southwick, Westfield, Southampton, Easthampton and Northampton. Its grades are easy, and the hardest are not over 40 feet to the mile.

THE WARE RIVER RAILROAD COMPANY was incorporated May 24th, 1851, for the purpose of constructing a road from Palmer to Templeton. The present Board of Directors are Orrin Sage, President; A. L. Dennis, Charles A. Stevens, P. F. Goff, Wm. Hyde, Otis Lane, Joel Rice, Addison Sanford, Samuel H. Phelps, W. S. Brakenridge, of Ware; and Wm. Mixter of Hardwick. The route has been surveyed from Palmer to Barre, and, while there is some prospect of the road being built from Palmer to Ware, the enterprise, as a whole, is not regarded as promising success.

The BOSTON AND FITCHBURG RAILROAD is the commencement of a route from Boston Westward, which it has been the intention for some years to continue to the Hudson River. The Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad continues the line Westward, and has its terminus in Brattleboro, Vt. This road reached the line of Franklin County in July, 1848, at the town of Orange. From Orange, the road continues through Wendell, Erving, Montague and Northfield, where it crosses the Connecticut into Vernon, Vt. From Grant's Corner, in Montague, a branch was finished in February, 1851, under a charter to a company called the Greenfield and Fitchburg Railroad Company, a distance of eight miles, to Greenfield, where it strikes the Connecticut River Railroad. Thus far, the line has been completed Westward from Boston. From Troy, the Troy and Boston Railroad has been built to the line of the State of Vermont at Pownal, occupying the Southwestern corner of that State; and across that town to the Massachusetts line runs the Southern Vermont Railroad, a distance of six miles. Between this point and Greenfield, the terminus of the branch of the Vermont and Massachusetts, the distance is 34 miles. A railroad of this length will therefore fill the gap, and complete another route from Boston, opening into the great West. The towns intervening between Greenfield and the Vermont line at Pownal, are Shelburne, Charlemont, Florida, Adams (North Adams) and Williamstown.

To construct this link of the chain, a company was incorporated in 1848, by the name of the TROY AND GREENFIELD RAILROAD COMPANY, with a capital of $3,500,000. The persons named in the act of incorporation were George Grennell, Roger H. Leavitt, Samuel H. Read, James E. Marshall, Henry Chapman, Alvah Crocker, Jonas C. Heartt, Franklin Ripley, Abel Phelps, Asahel Foote, Ebenezer G. Lamson and D. W. Alvord. The route over which it is proposed to construct the road is one of peculiar interest, as it involves the project of piercing Hoosac Mountain with a tunnel, about four and one-half miles in length. The uncertainty attached to this unparalleled enterprise, hindered any considerable subscription to the stock, and, in 1851, application was made by the corporation to the Legislature for a loan of two millions of dollars, for the purpose of securing the construction of the tunnel. The application was not successful, and in 1853 it was renewed, when the petitioners again failed of securing their object. In 1854, however, the application was again made, and the loan of two millions was granted. The leading conditions of the loan are that a subscription to the stock of $600,000 shall be first secured, on which shall be paid in 20 per cent.; that then, seven miles of the road shall be built, and the tunnel be bored to the extent of 1,000 lineal feet, when the company will become entitled to $100,000 of the loan. When another seven miles of the road shall have been constructed, and another 1,000 feet advanced into the mountain, the company will be entitled to another $100,000 of the loan. The remaining conditions are necessarily somewhat varied from this formula, but the policy indicated is followed throughout the work.

The road has been nearly graded from North Adams to the Vermont State line, but no work has been done upon it for the past two years. In the report of the company to the Legislature, for 1853, the total amount given as having been expended in graduation and masonry was $75,502 24. The proposed route has some note-worthy characteristics. The center of the proposed tunnel is the highest point of the road, and from that point, the road declines the entire distance to Greenfield and the entire distance to Hoosac Falls, N. Y., at a grade of about 31 feet to the mile, so that if a car were started from the center, in either direction, it would, in one instance, run of itself to Greenfield, and, in the other, to Hoosac Falls. The proposed tunnel is to enter the mountain on the Eastern side of the bank of the Deerfield river, and will emerge on the Western side, on the bank of the Hoosac river, and it is ascertained that these two rivers occupy precisely, or very nearly the same, level. Above the proposed tunnel, the mountain rises at its highest elevation 1,300 feet, while at no place, except at the ends, does it rise less than 800 feet. The project itself is one of the boldest and most magnificent ever conceived in America. That its consummation is within the bounds of possibility is doubtless true, and those who are reputed competent engineers declare it to be feasible, and within the limits of expense indicated by the amount of the State loan. Other authority, that has been, and is, deemed good, in the railroad world, has no faith in the project, or, at least, in its practicability as an investment. One or two boring machines have been invented with reference to facilitating the work, and one has been on trial on the spot, which has, to some extent, demonstrated the practicability of doing the whole work by machinery. Under the most favorable circumstances, the boring of 4 1-2 miles of solid rock must be the work of years, and if it shall ever be accomplished, old Hoosac will stand above it, an appropriate monument of one of the most stupendous works ever achieved by human hands.

The Directors of the company in 1854 were Otis Clapp, President; George Millard, John Porter, E. G. Lamson, Erastus Rice, D. N. Carpenter, R. H. Leavitt, and J. V. C. Smith, the latter being the present Mayor of Boston.

THE PITTSFIELD AND NORTH ADAMS RAILROAD COMPANY was chartered in 1843. No progress was made at first, and in 1846, the charter was revived, and the road constructed during that year. The road was constructed under the direction of the Western Railroad Corporation, through an arrangement made with the government of the Pittsfield and North Adams Company. The stock was subscribed, and the road leased by the Western Railroad on certain terms and conditions. The citizens of North Adams raised a fund of $31,000. The road cost $450,000, and the Western road took a lease of it for thirty years, agreeing to pay 6 per cent. on its cost annually to the stockholders, while the North Adams fund of $31,000 was to be drawn upon, to make up to the Western road any deficiencies in its earnings. Thus, if the road should earn but 5 per cent., the North Adams guaranty fund was to be drawn upon to the amount of one per cent. on the cost of the road, to save the Western road from loss. Another condition of the lease is that at the end of the thirty years, the Western Railroad has the privilege of buying the road at its cost, or of renewing the lease for ninety-nine years at 5 per cent. The North Adams guaranty fund has become nearly or quite exhausted in making up the deficiencies of past years, but has proved sufficient for sustaining the road in its infancy, as it is now nearly earning its 6 per cent. The arrangement is one that shows the enterprise and far-sighted policy of the capitalists of North Adams, and indicates a method of procedure to those places wishing for branch roads, worthy of imitation. The road is operated by Western Railroad power and carriages, and all that it has cost the town of Adams to open for itself a communication with a great railroad line is $31,000, an amount which has doubtless already been saved in transportation, while the rise in the value of real estate is probably quadruple the sum sunk in the fund. The road is 21 miles long, and passes through the towns of Lanesborough, Cheshire and Adams, to the village of North Adams, in that town. The direction in 1854 was in the names of William H. Swift, Josiah Stocking and Stephen Fairbanks. The miles run by passenger and freight trains in 1853 were 24,880; number of passengers, 52,659; merchandise, 24,699 tuns. The total income of the road was $47,332 81; net earnings after deducting expenses, $26,208 81. The 6 per cent. dividend amounted to $27,000, showing a loss of nearly $800.

The PITTSFIELD AND STOCKBRIDGE RAILROAD COMPANY was incorporated in 1848. The ground was broken the next year, and, on the first of January, 1850, the road was opened for traffic and travel. The road is twenty-two miles long, and was built at a cost of $440,000. The Housatonic Railroad Co., whose road extends from Bridgeport, Ct., to the Massachusetts State line, hold a perpetual lease of the road at 7 per cent. on its cost. The road passes from Pittsfield to Van Deusenville, a village in Great Barrington, where it is connected, through the medium of the Berkshire Railroad, with the Housatonic. A branch also passes from Van Deusenville to the New York State line, as a part of the continuation of the Housatonic line to Albany. The gentlemen through whose efforts, mainly, the Pittsfield and Stockbridge Railway enterprise was consummated, were John Z. Goodrich, Thomas F. Plunkett and Samuel A. Hurlbut. The government of the road consisted in 1854 of Thomas H. Plunkett, President; Daniel R. Williams, Samuel A. Hurlbut, Harrison Garfield, James D. Colt, 2d, George W. Platner, Thomas Sedgwick, Directors. John Z. Goodrich, Secretary; J. D. Adams, Treasurer.

The Housatonic Railroad, of which this road is a continuation, has not been a successful enterprise. The competition of two parallel lines—the Hudson River and the New York and Harlem—has operated against it. A portion of the stockholders are discontented with the terms of lease of the Massachusetts lines, and a committee has been appointed to confer with the directors of those roads for the purpose of bringing about a consolidation of the stock, while two individuals have offered to take the Stockbridge and Pittsfield road off the hands of the Housatonic Company. The business on the line of the road, from Pittsfield to Bridgeport, is increasing, and the opening of new marble quarries, and the establishment of new manufactories, promise much for future increase of business. The total income of the Housatonic Railroad, for the year 1853, was $324,990 35; expenses, $203,492 41; net earnings, $121,497 94. Deducting rents and interest, the net earnings stand at $15,909 70. The increase of receipts over those of 1852 were $37,208 98.

THE HARTFORD AND SPRINGFIELD RAILROAD is the continuation of the Hartford and New Haven Railroad, from the Connecticut State line to Springfield. It is five miles and about nine tenths in length, and is owned and run by the Connecticut company, under the usual arrangements in such cases. It was opened to traffic and travel on the 9th of December, 1844, and is now laid with a double track. There is a station on the road at Longmeadow.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEWSPAPERS OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

THE foremost of the agencies now moulding, swaying, educating, impelling and leading the American mind is the newspaper. From being a simple incident of freedom of government, thought and pursuit, it has grown to the dignity and importance of a gigantic institution—the safeguard of liberty, its expositor and defender. This has not been the work of centuries. It has been the work, mainly, of the present century; now but a little more than half expired. Its influence at the present day is incalculable. It forms in the United States the daily intellectual food of millions. In the broad and general view, its importance is appreciated to a great degree by the public, but there is a view in which it is rarely, if ever, regarded, and this is its influence in moulding the business interests of a people—in fixing its centers of trade, in associating the intelligence, will and force of its enterprise, and in bringing before the popular mind those schemes of economical policy that often shape the industry and form the basis of the prosperity of large communities. A newspaper press is always a center, as a star is a center. Some may be suns and others satellites, but they are all centers, nevertheless, of light and influence. They attract attention to the point which they occupy, advertise the trade and business interests of the localities with which they are associated, and do far more than the public have ever dreamed towards collecting populations, establishing markets, and building up the material interests of the points from which their influence emanates. In this view, comparatively unimportant, it may be, it is a great industrial engine,—the medium between production and consumption—the right arm of trade by which the seller is brought face to face with the purchaser; the attractive force that brings convergent streams of prosperity to the center; the conveying power that pours back upon an indefinite circumference the reward for its productions. It is with this view in mind, as well as that higher and more obvious one to which allusion has already been made, that we notice in brief detail the history of the press of Western Massachusetts. And this view is exposed for the purpose of showing how intimately connected with the material, as well as the moral and intellectual interests of any place that is blessed with a newspaper, is the enterprise of its healthy sustentation. The local newspaper, whether it be high or humble, provided only that it be conducted by principle, is an institution which no town possessing it, can *afford* to see go down, or languish from an insufficient support.

THE PRESS OF SPRINGFIELD.

Springfield was first in the publication of a newspaper, as she was in settlement, among the towns of Western Massachusetts. The first printing office was established by Babcock & Haswell. The office was located on Main street, near the place where Dr. William Bridgman's house now stands. Anthony Haswell, one of the members of the firm, was from Worcester, where, in 1777, he leased the publication of the Spy of Isaiah Thomas, its founder. He left the Spy the next year. Elisha Babcock was born in Milton, and was, by trade, a paper maker. They commenced the publication of the MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE, OR THE GENERAL ADVERTISER, in Springfield, in May, 1782. The motto of the paper was: "'Tis not in mortals to command success, but we'll do more—we'll deserve it." In 1784, it appears that Mr. Haswell had retired, the paper being continued by Mr. Babcock, and printed better, upon better paper. Mr. Haswell went to Vermont, and published a democratic paper there for several years. The printing office was removed by Mr. Babcock to "the next door South of the Court House," which must have been in the immediate vicinity of the present site of H. & J. Brewer's drug store, corner of Main and Sanford streets. In the spring of 1784, Mr. Babcock sold out to Brooks & Russell, and removed to Hartford, Ct., where he commenced the American Mercury, July 4, 1784, in partnership with Joel Barlow. He continued the Mercury for many years, but it languished during the latter part of his life. His death occurred in April, 1821, when he had arrived at the age of 67. His paper passed into the hands of his son

Charles, and was continued until 1835, when it "died out," at the age of 51 years.

John Russell, of the firm of Brooks & Russell, was an elder brother of the famous Boston editor, Major Benjamin Russell. On the first of January, 1785, the name of the "Massachusetts Gazette" was exchanged for the HAMPSHIRE HERALD AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER. In June, 1785, the Herald appears with the name of John Russell only, Mr. Brooks either having died, or left the concern. In August, 1786, the Herald appeared with the imprint of Stebbins & Russell. The Herald, having had a brief suspension during the State stamp act, at the time of the Shays Rebellion, was permanently discontinued on the first of January, 1787. The Hampshire Chronicle was commenced on the succeeding first of March by John Russell, probably with the old printing materials of the Herald. His printing office was then near "The Great Ferry," on or near what is now known as Ferry street. On the first of January, 1788, the Chronicle passed into the hands of Weld & Thomas. Mr. Thomas—no other than the celebrated Isaiah Thomas of Worcester—was the real purchaser of the establishment, and Mr. Weld had been his apprentice. There seems to have been an intermediate proprietorship, for Mr. Thomas bought of Zephaniah Webster. Mr. Russell left Springfield for Boston, where he published the Boston Gazette for many years. He died in Maine about the year 1829. The office of Weld & Thomas stood "opposite the Court House," the locality now occupied by the Chicopee Bank, on the corner of Main and Elm streets. In December, 1790, the Chronicle appeared with the imprint of Mr. Weld alone. In 1792, Mr. Weld appeared still to be the proprietor of the paper, but the name of the sheet was altered to the HAMPSHIRE AND BERKSHIRE CHRONICLE. In January, 1793, a change of proprietorship had taken place, and Edward Grey was the publisher.

At this time, a competitor rose in the field, and Springfield for the first time had two newspapers within its limits. The FEDERAL SPY was started in January, 1793, by James R. Hutchins, an apprentice and son-in-law of Isaiah Thomas, who furnished him with his printing materials. This killed the Chronicle, which survived the encounter of interests but a very short time. It is proper to insert here the notice of a newspaper enterprise undertaken on the other side of the river, soon after this time. In August, 1795, Richard Davidson, an Englishman, came from Boston, and established a paper in West Springfield, "a few rods West of the (first) Meeting House." The paper was endowed with the somewhat ambitious name of the AMERICAN INTELLIGENCER. He either failed to support the paper, or the paper to support him, and soon sold out to Edward Grey, on whose hands the Chronicle had previously died. He continued the paper weekly until it was about three years old, when it was discontinued for lack of support. Grey at first took his types to Suffield, and afterwards to Hartford, where it is to be hoped he experienced a better success.

Hutchins, the founder of the Federal Spy, is said to have absconded a year or two after the commencement of his enterprise, and was succeeded by John Worthington Hooker and Francis Stebbins. In May, 1796, Mr. Hooker sold out his share to Mr. Stebbins, who became the "sole editor and proprietor," and who continued the Spy until September 26, 1799, when he sold to Timothy Ashley, who continued it until the Spring of 1801. At that time, he took into the establishment, as his partner, Mr. Henry Brewer, a much respected citizen of Springfield, who still survives. In 1803, Mr. Brewer, who was a printer by trade, published the Spy alone, and continued it until 1806, when he sold out to Mr. Thomas Dickman, a native of Boston, and an apprentice of Benjamin Edes & Sons. Mr. Dickman had been a resident of Greenfield, where for twelve years previous to his removal, he had published a paper. He at once changed the name of the paper from the Federal Spy to the HAMPSHIRE FEDERALIST, the name denoting its political character, and the character of the paper fully agreeing with its name. Mr. Dickman continued the paper until 1819, a much longer period than any previous printer had continued business in Springfield. He then sold out to Frederick A. Packard, a lawyer. About this time, Mr. Abraham G. Tannatt, a printer, came from Boston, and became a partner of Mr. Packard, and the paper was published with the imprint of A. G. Tannatt & Co. It should be mentioned that, in the meantime, the name of the paper had been changed, to accommodate the change of county lines, to the HAMPDEN FEDERALIST.

In 1818, a competitor came into the field. In that year, a physician named Ira Daniels, established the HAMPDEN PATRIOT. In politics, it opposed the Federalist, and was continued for about two years by Dr. Daniels, when it fell into the hands of a company of gentlemen, for whom Justice Willard, Esq., still a resident of Springfield, acted as editor. In 1822, Mr. Tannatt left the Federalist office, and became proprietor and publisher of the Patriot, which he continued to publish for about two years, when the paper was discontinued. From this office, Mr. Tannatt went back to that of the Federalist, carrying with him his printing materials, and becoming in that establishment joint proprietor with Mr. Packard, who, in the meantime, had sold it to Wood & Lyman, and taken it back again upon their failure, after the brief operation of six months. During the management of Wood & Lyman, the name of the paper was changed to the HAMPDEN JOURNAL, for the reason that the name of Federalist had become "obnoxious."

On the 1st of January, 1829, Mr. Tannatt bought out Mr. Packard, and continued the Journal in his own name for six years, until January 1, 1835, when he relinquished the establishment to Mr. Packard. In the meantime, another competitor appeared, which was destined to swallow up the Journal. On the 8th of September, 1824, the SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN was commenced, by Mr. Samuel Bowles, who came to Springfield from Hartford. Mr. Bowles brought with him the first lever press ever put up in the town. Soon afterwards, he introduced the use of the "composition roller," an important improvement in the mode of inking the type. The Republican was commenced under the auspices of the old Republican party, but soon after its establishment, the old party lines faded away, with the expiration of the causes which had instituted and sustained them. In 1825, the Federal party gave up its distinct organization, and joined in the support of Levi Lincoln for Governor, who was chosen without opposition. The Journal came to be poorly supported, and after the retirement of Mr. Tannatt, whose embarrassments were the cause of the change, its continuance was not considered an object, and the concern was purchased by Mr. Bowles, and merged in the Republican, the combined issue being styled the REPUBLICAN AND JOURNAL. From the time when Mr. Dickman bought the Journal, to the date of its incorporation with the Republican, in 1835, the period elapsed had been 29 years.

Belonging to the Journal establishment, when it was broken up, was an English printing press, that was either brought to Springfield by Haswell, in 1782, for the printing of the first paper, or by Hutchins, in 1793, eleven years afterwards. Its history, through the hands of the various printers, can be traced back as far as Mr. Hutchins. In either case, the press was probably owned by Isaiah Thomas before it came to Springfield, as he furnished (as is believed) the printing materials of both concerns. This press, in fragments, is still in existence, and belongs to Mr. Tannatt. In one of the late newspaper offices of Springfield, the bed of it was used as an imposing stone. It is an interesting relic, and should be preserved, as being, with very little doubt, the first newspaper printing press worked in Western Massachusetts.

On the 24th of February, 1830, John B. Eldridge, a printer, commenced the publication of the HAMPDEN WHIG. The paper supported the administration of General Jackson. In February, 1835, Mr. Eldridge sold his establishment to E. D. Beach, a lawyer, who became editor as well as proprietor. David F. Ashley, a printer bred to the business, in that office, soon afterwards became his partner, and the paper was continued by them under the title of the HAMPDEN POST, and the firm of D. F. Ashley & Co., until July 1, 1843, when the establishment was purchased by ALANSON HAWLEY.

On the 26th of May, 1841, the INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT was commenced as a weekly newspaper, by Apollos Munn. It was published on Springfield Hill. Mr. Munn was a printer, a native of Springfield, and served a portion of his apprenticeship in the Hampden Journal office, under Mr. Tannatt. Mr. Munn having obtained a clerkship in the Boston Custom House, sold his paper to Elijah Ashley, a botanic physician, in September, 1843. Dr. Ashley moved the establishment down to Elm street, and continued the paper until November, 1844, when it was merged in the Hampden Post. At this time, too, Mr. Hawley sold the Post to Mr. Ashley, who remained sole proprietor until it was discontinued.

Mr. Munn, having been discharged from the Custom House by Collector Marcus Morton, returned to Springfield, and, August 2d, 1845, started a new paper which he called the HAMPDEN STATESMAN. This he continued until February 1, 1847, when it was merged in the Hampden Post, for which paper Mr. Munn was then engaged to write. In September, 1847, he was succeeded as editor by Wm. L. Smith of Boston.

When Mr. Munn announced the Independent Democrat, he supported John Tyler and his administration, in a style of devotion which won that somewhat distinguished gentlemen's regards, and—a place in the Custom House, then under Robert Rantoul, Jr. While he published the Statesman, he received the appointment of publisher of the U. S. laws, but his paper was, or was not, appreciated by the public, and he was soon obliged to give up the paper and his enterprise to the Post.

In September, 1831, the SPRINGFIELD GAZETTE was commenced by George W. Callender, Henry Kirkham and Lewis Briggs, the latter being the printer of the paper. William Hyde, a lawyer, and now a resident of Ware, was its editor. The object of the Gazette, as announced, was to sustain the interests of education, of missions and of temperance, keeping entirely aloof from party politics. The basis not proving sufficiently remunerative, the character of the paper was changed to that of a Whig newspaper, in the course of a few years. In September, 1832, just one year from its commencement, Mr. Briggs and Josiah Hooker, a lawyer, bought out Callender and Kirkham, and became the joint publishers of the paper, Mr. Briggs continuing the printer, and Mr Hooker acting as editor. In 1837, Josiah Taylor, a printer, bought out Messrs Hooker and Briggs, and became the publisher, and on the 1st of July, 1840, was succeeded by William Stowe, who became the editor and proprietor of the Gazette, and continued thus until the paper was merged in the Republican.

THE HAMPDEN INTELLIGENCER was commenced on the

25th of August, 1831, by J. B. Clapp, as an organ of the Anti-Masonic party. It was published about one year, and then discontinued.

In January, 1842, Mr. Tannatt, the former publisher of the Journal, commenced a temperance paper, called the HAMPDEN WASHINGTONIAN. It was a small, weekly sheet, published at $1 a year. On the first of January, 1848, it was discontinued for want of support.

On the 1st of January, 1847, the BAY STATE WEEKLY COURIER, a literary newspaper, was commenced by J. G. Holland, a physician, as a refuge from uncongenial pills, and a still more uncongenial lack of opportunity for dispensing them. At the end of about three months, he relinquished the proprietorship of the paper to Horace S. Taylor, its printer, he still remaining its editor. At the end of about six months, the paper was discontinued for lack of support. The publication was nominally simultaneous in Springfield and Cabotville. The list was sold to the Republican.

THE PALMER SENTINEL was commenced at Palmer Depot, by Whittemore & Tenney, as a weekly paper, neutral in politics, on the 1st of January, 1846, and continued there until February 4, 1847. The concern was then removed to Springfield, and its name changed to that of the SPRINGFIELD SENTINEL. Mr. Hawley, who had just before left the Hampden Post, joined the Sentinel with Mr. Tenney as partner and editor. The Sentinel was started in Springfield as a semi-weekly and weekly, and supported the administration of Mr. Polk. In July, 1848, after starting in support of the nomination, by the democratic national convention, of Cass and Butler, the Sentinel bolted from their support, on the slavery question, and subsequently supported the Barnburner and Free Soil nomination of Martin Van Buren. When the election was decided, Mr. Hawley sold out to George W. Myrick and Mr. Tenney, the latter having previously left the concern in the hands of Mr. Hawley. Mr. Tenney again retired, and the paper was continued for a year or two, when the subscription list was sold out to the Northampton Courier.

Thus far we have spoken only of weekly papers. The Republican was the first to issue a daily. On the first of April, 1844, the first number of the SPRINGFIELD DAILY

REPUBLICAN appeared. It had not a subscriber, and was started in the face of strong discouragements. Men of business who were consulted declared that the time had not arrived for a daily paper in Springfield. It was the first daily establishment in Massachusetts out of Boston, and presented but 16 columns of matter, all told. The first and second years of its existence, the circulation was very small, but by economical management, the publisher, Mr. Bowles, sustained for the first year a loss of only $150 or $200. The circulation, if it increased slowly, still increased steadily, until, at the end of the fourth year, its subscription list reached 800, with sufficient advertising patronage to ensure its support, and place it on a permanent footing. The Daily Republican was commenced as an evening paper, but it was changed to a morning paper on the first of December, 1845. In April, 1846, it was enlarged to a sheet 21 by 28 inches. Previous to that time, its circulation had not exceeded 300. On the 1st of September, 1848, the size of the paper was increased to 23 by 32½ inches. Its regular circulation was then full 1,000. On the 1st of July, 1851, the paper was again enlarged to the ample dimensions of seven columns to the page.

In April, 1846, the Gazette issued the first number of a daily evening paper, on a sheet nearly of the size of the Republican at that time. Added to the usual stimulus of competition in such cases, opposition to the Republican on certain local questions operated as a cause for bringing the Daily Gazette into existence. The phase of public feeling, or of the feeling of certain individuals which formed the basis of this latter incentive, underwent a modification in the course of a few years, and, as one Whig daily was really enough for the wants of the people, it became an object with Mr. Stowe, in the Summer of 1848, to offer the sale of his establishment to Mr. Bowles, for the purpose of merging the two establishments in one. On the 1st of July, of that year, an arrangement was completed, and the Gazette was sold to the Republican for $2,250. The printing materials were worth probably from $500 to $700. The remainder was given for the good will of the paper. By the arrangement, about 200 daily subscribers were added to the list of the Republican, and 600 to the weekly. The union of the papers was generally acquiesced in by the public with cheerfulness, the old subscribers to the Gazette being mostly retained, and the prosperity of the Republican since having been such as is rarely attained by country newspapers.

Samuel Bowles continued the publication of the Republican until the first of February, 1850, when his son, Samuel Bowles, Jr., who had, for several years, been largely the manager of the editorial department, and whose energy and enterprise, in co-operation with his father, had contributed much to the success of the paper, became joint proprietor of the concern, under the firm of Samuel Bowles & Son. In May, 1849, J. G. Holland became associate editor of the Republican, with Samuel Bowles, Jr. At the end of two years, he purchased a portion of the establishment, and the firm was changed to that of Samuel Bowles & Co. On the 8th of September, 1851, Samuel Bowles, Sr. died, and his portion of the establishment remained in the hands of the estate, until the 1st of September, 1853, when Clark W. Bryan, a printer by trade, and formerly the editor of the Great Barrington Courier, purchased the larger part of it, and became a partner in the concern, the firm, consisting of Samuel Bowles, J. G. Holland and Mr. Bryan, remaining Samuels Bowles & Co. The Republican has now a regular daily circulation of 3,400 copies, 2,300 of which are sent out of Springfield, on the early morning trains, to all the adjacent villages, and by mail to more distant localities. The weekly has a circulation of nearly 4,000 copies, with a constantly growing subscription list. On the 1st of January, 1854, it undertook an enterprise of which this present article forms a part,—the writing and the publication of an original History of Western Massachusetts, equal in extent to 1,000 12mo pages, whose actual cash cost is not less than $2,000. In Feb. 1855, the weekly was enlarged, and changed to the quarto form, and it is now the largest paper in New England.

After Mr Hawley sold the Post to Mr. Ashley, that gentleman commenced the issue of a tri-weekly. This was in July, 1846, and Mr. Hawley continued in the editorial department. The tri-weekly was just half the size of the Weekly Post. On the 1st of June, 1848, Mr Ashley commenced the issue of the DAILY POST, in place of the tri-weekly, with William L. Smith, whose name has already been mentioned, as editor. On the 1st of August, 1851, William Trench leased the office of the Post, and took in as partner Henry W. Dwight of Stockbridge. Mr. Dwight retired at the end of about 8 months, and Mr. Trench relinquished his lease on the 1st of February, 1853. The establishment then went back into the hands of Mr. Ashley who continued to publish the Daily until July 10, 1854, and the Weekly until August 9th, the following month, when they were respectively discontinued.

During the period which has been covered by the history of the press of Springfield, many ephemeral publications, of no very ambitious pretensions, have been issued, of which no account has been given. The CONSTELLATION was the name of a paper published by William B. Brockett, which had a brief existence. The SPIRIT MESSENGER, published by R. P. Ambler, was among the first of the literary offspring of the spiritual rapping excitement. This lived for a year or two, and expired. Rev. Mr. Russell, formerly the pastor of the Congregational Church on the Hill, was a publisher, for a time, of sermons, in monthly numbers, we believe. The Health Insurance Companies that ran their brief and disastrous course here, within the last five or six years, had their organs, the more ambitious and respectable of which was the Mechanics' Reporter, the organ of the Mechanics' Mutual Benefit Association. These papers all died out with the interests which gave them birth.

The last of the periodical issues of the Springfield press was the CONNECTICUT VALLEY FARMER. This paper was started in May, 1853, as the CONNECTICUT VALLEY FARMER AND MECHANIC, under the auspices, and guaranty of support for one year, of the Hampden County Agricultural Society. The paper was printed and published by Samuel Bowles & Co., at the Republican office. The editor was Hon. William B. Calhoun. It was issued as a monthly, in quarto form, at the price of 50 cents a year. During the first year, Mr. Calhoun received the appointment of Bank Commissioner, and, at the end of the year, retired from the paper, and Prof. J. A. Nash of Amherst assumed the editorial charge in his place, and curtailed the name of the paper to its present term—The Connecticut

Valley Farmer. January 1, 1855, it was removed to Amherst where Prof Nash became publisher as well as editor.

The following recapitulation presents in one view the origin and resolution, or present position, of the Springfield press, from the commencement of its existence in 1782, to the present time, covering a period of 72 years.

RECAPITULATION.

NAME OF PAPER.	WHEN STARTED.	WHAT BECAME OF IT.
Massachusetts Gaz. & General Advertiser,	May, 1782,	changed to the
Hampshire Herald and Weekly Advertiser,	Jan. 1, 1785,	discontinued Jan. 1787.
Hampshire Chronicle,	March 1, 1787,	changed to the
Hampshire & Berkshire Chronicle,	1792, (probably)	discontinued 1793.
The Federal Spy,	Jan. 1793,	changed to the
Hampshire Federalist,	1806,	changed to the
Hampden Federalist,	Feb. 1812,	changed to the
Hampden Journal,	about 1823,	merged in Rep. 1835.
Hampden Patriot,	1818,	discontinued 1824.
Springfield Republican, (Weekly)	Sept. 3, 1824,	still extant.
Springfield Republican, (Daily)	April 1, 1844,	still extant.
Hampden Whig,	Feb. 1830,	changed to the
Hampden Post, (Weekly)	Feb. 1835,	discontinued 1854.
Hampden Post, (Daily)	June 1, 1848,	discontinued 1854.
Independent Democrat,	May 26, 1841,	merged in Post, Nov. 1844.
Hampden Statesman,	Aug. 2, 1845,	merged in Post, Feb. 1, 1847.
Springfield Gazette, (Weekly)	Sept. 1831,	merged in Rep. July 1, 1848.
Springfield Gazette, (Daily)	April 1846,	merged in Rep. July 1, 1848.
Hampden Intelligencer,	Aug. 25, 1831,	discontinued 1832.
Hampden Washingtonian,	Jan. 1842,	discontinued Jan. 1848.
Bay State Courier,	Jan. 1847,	list sold Rep. July 1847.
Springfield Sentinel,	Feb. 1847,	list sold Northampton Cour.
Connecticut Valley Farmer & Mechanic,	May 1853,	changed to the
Connecticut Valley Farmer,	May 1854,	removed to Amherst 1855.
American Intelligencer, (West Springfield)	Aug. 1795,	discontinued 1798.

In the early days of country newspapers, editorial labor was very light. Space was limited, and the editors themselves were necessarily printers. Still, a man of character made a paper of character. His tone of thought, his religious principles, and his politics, were manifested in his selections, and these gave him an influence which one at this day would hardly deem possible. Thomas Dickman was probably the first editor in Springfield to make his mark upon the public mind, and yet, it is asserted by Mr. Buckingham, in his "Croaker" papers, that he rarely wrote a line beyond the common details of strictly local news. As a man, he was much esteemed. He bore an unassuming deportment, was a very agreeable companion, and was a welcome visitor in every circle. Mr. Buckingham was an apprentice to Mr. Dickman at the time he lived in Greenfield. He was a native of Boston, and served his apprenticeship with Benjamin Edes & Sons. In 1792, he commenced at Greenfield the "Impartial Intelligencer," and was postmaster in that town under the elder Adams. After publishing the Intelligencer 12 years, he removed to

Springfield. After relinquishing the Hampden Federalist, he kept a bookstore, and still later a reading room. On the 9th of December, 1841, while on a visit to his daughter in Greenfield, he died at the age of 73, and was buried in that town. As is too often the case with printers, he died poor.

Samuel Bowles, the founder of the Republican, was born in Hartford, on the 8th day of June, 1797. His parents were not rich in worldly goods, and, in some memoranda of his early life, he has chronicled the fact that all he received, of any importance, from his father's estate, was his gold watch and the family Bible. In the obituary notice of him, from the pen of Hon. William B. Calhoun, this fact is shaped into a beautiful tribute, in the words: "few have been the men, who have fallen in our way, who have kept truer time, and been more loyal to the Bible than Samuel Bowles." His early education was limited. At the age of 15 he was placed in his father's store. On the death of his father, a year afterwards, he commenced an apprenticeship to the business of printing. At the expiration of his apprenticeship, he acted for six years as foreman and journeyman in several Hartford and New Haven offices. A portion of this time he was also a proprietor and publisher, but he did not succeed, and came to Springfield and established the Republican. The rest has already been told. He died on the 8th of September, 1851, at the age of 54 years. Yet as one who knew him well, and who, in a brief business connection, had occasion to learn the principles which guided him, and the considerate kindness which actuated him, the writer would be ingrate to refuse to record a tribute to the honor, candor, honesty, probity, and thorough Christian principle that characterized his daily walk. Of his ability, let his success tell. Of his habits of observation, his industry and method, this article is evidence, nearly every fact contained in it being drawn from his carefully collected notes, which form a portion of a large mass of manuscripts that he had written while engaged in the cares of business, with the intention of ultimately publishing a history of printing. Among these notes there is a touching memorandum in pencil, which states the object of the collection, the fact that business cares had multiplied so greatly that he could do nothing with it then, and that he had reserved the completion of the book "as an amusement for old age." But old age never came, and his dust sleeps in the cemetery, the granite tells us where.

Apollus Munn, during a brief life, figured somewhat largely in the editorial way in Springfield. He was a Springfield boy, and learned his trade of A. G. Tannatt, as has already been stated. His first editorial labor, we believe, was in connection with the Northampton Democrat. He was a man of decided ability, a fluent writer, a flippant speaker, and a well read politician. But he lacked the one thing needful—principle. He often descended to coarse personal abuse, and editorial blackguardism. Towards the latter part of his life, he became attached to the new doctrines of the spiritualists, and with all the ardor and enthusiasm of his nature, devoted himself to their exposition. He wrote for the Spirit Messenger as one of its editors. At that time, if never before in his life, we believe he was an honest writer. No man could pass through a greater change of character than his new belief wrought within him, so far as appearances would indicate. He became mild, peaceful, brotherly and charitable, gave up politics, and talked and wrote of morals. Once a lion in disputation, he became a lamb. A pulmonary disease terminated his life three or four years since.

THE PRESS OF WESTFIELD.

The first newspaper ever issued in Westfield, made its appearance on the 18th of February, 1824. The paper bore the name of the Hampden Register, and was published by Maj. Joseph Root. It contained five columns to the page. In politics, the Register was Republican, and supported the election and administration of John Quincy Adams. On the 8th of March, 1826, Dr. Job Clark became the editor of the Register, Maj. Root devoting himself exclusively to the publishing department. On the 25th of April, 1827, the Register passed into the hands of V. W. Smith and John B. Eldridge, the latter being the original publisher of the Hampden Whig, in Springfield. These gentlemen, somewhat to the surprise of their patrons, soon began to betray their partialities for Gen. Jackson, and gradually became violent opponents of Mr. Adams. Subscribers dropped off so rapidly in consequence, that Mr.

Smith left the paper in the following September, and Mr. Eldridge relinquished it to the old proprietor on the 12th of November, 1828. Maj. Root immediately sold out to J. D. Huntingdon, who changed the name of the paper to the WESTFIELD REGISTER, and the politics to Whig. With this name and these politics, the paper lived until November 29, 1831, when it was discontinued.

In 1828 and 1829, a periodical called the SCHOLAR'S JOURNAL was published by Emerson Davis, then principal of the Academy.

On the 10th of September, 1833, Joseph Bull commenced the publication of the WESTFIELD JOURNAL, neutral in politics. In April, 1835, N. T. Leonard became the proprietor of the paper, who changed its name to the DEMOCRATIC HERALD. The political character of the paper corresponded with its title. The paper lived about a year under this management, and was then discontinued. On the 9th of April, 1836, THE TALISMAN appeared, in the form of a quarto. It was edited by H. B. Smith, was neutral in politics, and lived three months, though it is recorded that it did not die for want of patronage. In April, 1839, Calvin Torrey commenced the publication of the WESTFIELD SPECTATOR, with democratic politics. The paper, during its first year, was largely patronized by both parties. In October, 1841, Dr. William O. Bell bought the Spectator establishment, and, on the 1st of December following, changed the name to the WORONOCO PALLADIUM. Dr. Bell published the Palladium for about two years, when the concern went back into the hands of Mr. Torrey. He revived the name of the old "Spectator," and continued the paper for about a year, when it disappeared from the list of the living, sending up, as it sank, several corruscations bearing the names of the "Star" and the "Screamer."

During the presidential campaign of 1840, the WESTFIELD COURIER was born. It was a small sheet, issued by Collins & Davis, two lads 14 years old. After the issue of the fifth number, Davis bought out Collins, and continued the paper nineteen weeks—sufficiently long to elect Harrison to the Presidency. It was opposed by a campaign paper called THE JEFFERSONIAN, published by one Shipper, who had previously edited a Whig campaign paper in Springfield, in regard to which the records fail. In July, 1841, the scholars of the Academy issued THE REPOSITORY, a paper which they continued for about three years.

In October, 1845, Hiram A. Beebe commenced the publication of the WESTFIELD STANDARD, a democratic sheet. It was discontinued at the end of two years, and after a trance of two weeks, was revived by J. D. Bates. Mr. Bates made a sudden exit from the establishment in April, 1848, and was succeeded by William W. Whitman. Mr. Whitman conducted the paper through the presidential campaign of 1848, after which he purchased the Troy (N. Y.) Budget. During all this period, the Standard was really owned by stockholders. When Mr. Whitman left, James M. Ely purchased the establishment, and published the Standard for about three years, during the larger part of which period the editorial chair was filled by Asahel Bush, now of the Oregon Statesman, and the remainder by Henry C. Moseley, who continued as editor until his departure for Washington Territory, in the Spring of 1852. January 1st, 1852, the establishment was purchased by Gilbert W. Cobb, who took the editorial control when Mr. Moseley left. The Standard was discontinued during the last week in August, 1854, and on the 7th of October of the same year, a paper in the interest of the Know Nothings, entitled THE WIDE AWAKE AMERICAN, was started, and is still continued.

On the 28th of February, 1841, Elijah Porter commenced the publication of the WESTFIELD NEWS LETTER, whig in politics. In August, 1847, Samuel H. Davis, son of Rev. Dr. Davis of Westfield, a graduate of Williams College, and the boy campaigner of 1840, joined the News Letter establishment, as editor and partner. He left that establishment in November, 1848, and became assistant editor of the Springfield Republican. He died in the following Spring much lamented. He was one of the most promising young editors in the Commonwealth. Mr. Porter remained sole proprietor until August, 1851, when P. L. Buell became his partner. In August, 1852, A. T. Dewey was added to the firm. In February, 1854, Mr. Dewey left the concern, and it is now carried on by Porter & Buell.

RECAPITULATION.

NAME.	WHEN STARTED.	WHAT BECAME OF IT.
Hampden Register,	Feb. 18, 1824,	changed to the
Westfield Register,	Nov. 1828,	discontinued Nov. 29, 1831.
Scholar's Journal,	1828,	discontinued 1829.
Westfield Journal,	Sept. 10, 1833,	changed to the
Democratic Herald,	April, 1835,	discontinued 1836.
The Talisman,	April 9, 1836,	discontinued Aug. 1836.
Westfield Spectator,	April, 1839,	changed to the
Woronoco Palladium,	Dec. 1, 1841,	changed to the
Westfield Spectator,	1843,	discontinued 1844.
Westfield Courier,	1840,	(Whig campaign paper.)
The Jeffersonian,	1840,	(Democratic campaign paper.)
Westfield News Letter,	Feb. 28, 1841,	still extant.
Westfield Standard,	Oct. 1845,	discontinued Aug. 1854.
Wide Awake American,	Oct. 7, 1854,	still extant.

THE PRESS OF PALMER.

The first newspaper published in Palmer was the Palmer Sentinel, the publishers being Whittemore & Tenney. The first number was issued in January, 1846. In the Spring of 1847, Mr. Whittemore sold his interest, and the paper was moved to Springfield, as has already been stated in the history of the press of Springfield. The Palmer Times was started in the Spring of 1847, by D. F. Ashley of Springfield. Only one number was published, as the encouragement was insufficient to warrant its continuance. The paper was printed in Springfield. The Palmer Journal was first issued on Saturday, April 6th, 1850. It was published by G. M. Fisk for the "Palmer Publishing Association," and was transferred to Mr. Fisk on the 5th of April, 1851, by whom it has been published ever since—"independent in everything."

THE PRESS OF CHICOPEE.

A portion of the history of the press of Chicopee would legitimately come under the head of Springfield, but it is all placed under this head for the purpose of convenience. The first paper started at Cabotville was the Chronicle and Chicopee Falls Advertiser. It was commenced the first Saturday in January, 1840, by Thomas D. Blossom, with the assistance of Rev. A. A. Folsom, as editor. Under Mr. Blossom's management it attained to the 5th volume, or was sustained by him until June 22d, 1844, when it was leased to John L. Hall and O. Butterfield. They published it six or eight months, and made a losing business of it. It then came back into the hands of its proprietor, who continued to publish it until its downfall, in the Spring of 1846, which occurred from the withdrawal of patronage in consequence of the publication of certain offensive articles, among which were the "Mysteries of Cabotville." The "MECHANICS' OFFERING" arose from the ashes of the Chronicle, with Harvey E. Bowles publisher, and James M. Cavanaugh editor. In August, 1846, Messrs. Russell, Stockwell & Cavanaugh purchased the concern, and in the second week of September, the same year, issued the first number of the CABOTVILLE MIRROR. It was published by Hervey Russell and edited by Amos W. Stockwell and James M. Cavanaugh, under whose charge it became the advocate of the policy of the democratic party. On the 8th of January, 1848, the establishment was entirely destroyed by fire. Mr. Russell was assisted in the effort to procure new printing materials, and he renewed the publication about the 1st of March following, and continued it until November, 1849, when its subscription list was transferred to the Springfield Sentinel, which issued it under the head of the CHICOPEE MIRROR until February 2d, 1850.

The CHICOPEE TELEGRAPH, weekly, was commenced January 1, 1846, by Augustine Ludington and J. C. Stœver. The latter was the printer, the former the editor. It was started as an agricultural and news paper, neutral in politics, though both editor and printer were Whigs. May 1, 1847, Mr. Ludington left the paper, and it became a party journal of the Whig school, with John Wells, Esq., as the editor *actual*. Mr. Stœver continued the paper until May, 1853, when Jonathan R. Childs became the proprietor and editor, and, on the 25th of that month, changed the name to the CHICOPEE WEEKLY JOURNAL. The Chronicle for a time published an edition of 500 copies, the Mirror 750, and the subscription lists of the Telegraph and Journal have been about 500.

THE PRESS OF HOLYOKE.

THE HAMPDEN FREEMAN was started on the first of September, 1849, by William L. Morgan, and was contined until January 15, 1853, when the name was changed to the HOLYOKE FREEMAN. On the 1st of October, of the same year, Mr. Morgan sold the establishment to A. B. F. Hildreth. The publication of the paper was suspended until January, 1854, when it was re-commenced, and is still continued, by Mr. Hildreth, under the name of the

Holyoke Weekly Mirror. The politics of the paper have been Whig from the first.

On the 10th of October, 1849, J. F. Downing started the New City Weekly Times. The name was changed on the second of March, 1850, to the Holyoke Weekly Times. After the issue of thirty-seven numbers, the paper was discontinued. The Times was neutral in politics. The Independent was started by E. G. Plaisted & Co. July 27, 1854, and is "Know Nothing" in politics.

THE PRESS OF NORTHAMPTON.

Northampton was four years later in the establishment of a newspaper press than Springfield. On the 6th of September, 1786, William Butler established the Hampshire Gazette, now the oldest, and always one of the most prosperous papers, in Western Massachusetts. Mr. Butler served his apprenticeship to the printing business in the office of Hudson & Goodwin, in Hartford. At the time of the commencement of the Gazette at Northampton, no public mail was received at that place, and Mr. Butler was obliged to send to Springfield *every week*, to get the news. During all the early existence of the paper, it was, like all its country brethren, made up almost entirely of selections, and communications. There was no such thing as a leader, and all home news, the editor took it for granted everybody knew without being informed of it. Mr. Butler wrote very little indeed. The last number of the Gazette bearing his imprint was issued on the 28th of June, 1815. William W. Clapp, afterwards of the Boston Saturday Evening Gazette, then became the proprietor, his first paper, of course, being issued during the first week in July, 1815. Mr. Clapp published the paper about a year and a half, and then sold out to Bates & Judd, (the late Hon. Isaac C. Bates and Hophni Judd, law partners.) These gentlemen published the paper but a short time, when they took in as partner Thomas Watson Shepard, a practical printer. This change occurred June 4, 1817, and the publishing firm became Thomas W. Shepard & Co. Mr. Judd died in 1818, but the paper was continued under this firm until April 10, 1822, when Sylvester Judd, Jr., the brother of Hophni, purchased the whole establishment, and became the editor of the paper. Mr. Shepard continued for sometime to be the printer.

Under Mr. Judd's management, the Gazette acquired a large circulation, and established a most enviable character for correctness, thoroughness and good morals. On the 1st of January, 1835, Mr. Judd sold the Gazette to C. P. Huntington and William A. Hawley, the publishing firm becoming William A. Hawley & Co. Mr. Hawley, at first, confined himself mostly to the duties of the printing and publishing departments, Mr. Huntington performing the editorial labor. It may be appropriately noticed here, as illustrative of the character of the people and the times, that it was deemed necessary to state that Mr. Hawley would have charge of the religious department of the paper, after Mr. Judd left it, in consequence of the fact that Mr. Huntington was known to be a Unitarian, while Mr. Judd and Mr. Hawley, though neither of them, we believe, were members of the church, were attached to the Orthodox form of belief.

On the 3d of June, 1836, Mr. Huntington sold out his share of the paper to Mr. Hawley, who remained the editor and proprietor until March 15th, 1853, when the Gazette appeared with the imprint of Hopkins, Bridgman & Co. These gentlemen were booksellers and stationers, the firm consisting of Stephen W. Hopkins, Sidney Bridgman and Henry Childs. J. R. Trumbull, a gentleman who had been bred a printer in the office of the Gazette, under Mr. Hawley, and who had there become so much accustomed to editorial labor as to have assumed and well sustained, for a time, the management of the Amherst Express, was announced as the new editor, in which position he still remains, the proprietors remaining the same.

On the 27th of May, 1846, Mr. Hawley commenced the issue of the DAILY GAZETTE. This paper was continued only about two months, and on the 20th of the following July, was withdrawn from the field, for lack of sufficient patronage and promise. Since the whig party came into being, the Gazette has been an adherent to its principles and policy.

The second paper established in Northampton was the PATRIOTIC GAZETTE. It was printed and published by Andrew Wright, and was commenced on the 12th of April, 1799. We have not been able to find the last number of the paper, but it was probably discontinued shortly before, or about the commencement of, the year 1801. It did not reach the close of a second year.

The third paper started in Northampton was the Republican Spy. This paper seems to have originated in Springfield in the latter part of June, 1803, though we have no record of it. Timothy Ashley was the publisher, and as he had previously published the Federal Spy, in partnership with Henry Brewer, and dissolved his business connection with him during 1803, it is presumed that a change of politics had come over him, and the "Republican Spy" was started by him in direct opposition to the Federal Spy, and Mr. Brewer his old partner. His enterprise not being sustained in Springfield, was doubtless the cause of its removal to Northampton in 1804. On the 14th of December, 1808, the name of the paper was changed to the Anti-Monarchist and Republican Watchman. Perhaps this was not a direct continuation of the Spy. It is more likely that that paper had expired, and the Anti-Monarchist was erected on its ruins, for no reference is made to the Spy in the opening number of the new paper. This paper stated, as the reason of the name it had assumed, that a party existed in this country who were determined to undermine the institutions of the country, and thereon to erect a monarchy. In continuation of this enterprise. The Democrat was commenced on the 12th of March, 1811, without the name of printer or editor attached to it. Among the papers of the late Dr. Seeger, were found sixty copies of this paper, and he was doubtless their editor. The Democrat was devoted to politics almost exclusively, and those of a character the most rabid. There is hardly the slightest reference to local news in the paper. Dr. Seeger's papers were more dignified and less harsh than the majority of the political writings it contained. The Democrat was continued for a few years, and died out after the close of the second war with England.

The Hive, was the name of a paper started in August, 1803, by T. M. Pomeroy. It was federal in the cast of its politics, but largely literary in its composition. It was a paper of eight pages, in the quarto form, and was continued with its original character until December 25, 1804. Not succeeding in drawing to itself the contributions of literary pens, it was then determined to try the fortunes of federal politics, and the paper was accordingly published as a political journal a few weeks into 1805, but it did not pay, and was suspended. Mr. Pomeroy removed from Northampton to Rutland, Vt., where he issued the first number of the VERMONT COURIER, on the 25th of July, 1808. In 1810, he began to print THE WASHINGTONIAN, a paper edited by a Mr. Dunham, a prominent federal politician of the times.

THE ORACLE, a weekly religious paper, in quarto form, was begun in 1823, and continued about three years. Hiram Ferry was the publisher of the paper, and Samuel Wells, Esq., the real editor, though his name did not appear as such. The Oracle was among the first papers in the State to take a decided stand upon the principle of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks.

Jonathan A. Saxton was the publisher of THE CHRISTIAN FREEMAN, which was tinged with politics and Unitarian Christianity. The paper came from Greenfield, where it had been previously published.

The NORTHAMPTON COURIER was commenced as a Whig newspaper in 1829, by Winthrop Atwill. Mr. Atwill continued the paper for upwards of ten years, and on the 8th of April, 1840, Thomas W. Shepard, who has already been mentioned as having been one of the proprietors of the Gazette, purchased the concern. On the 22d [illegible], Mr. Shepard took into partnership Josiah W. Smith, who, on the 17th of June, became the sole proprietor, Mr. Shepard retiring. For some time, W. O. Gorham assisted Mr. Smith in the editorial department. Mr. Smith continued the publisher, and, very largely, the editor, of the paper, until April 24th, 1847, when he sold the establishment to Rev. William Tyler, a congregational clergyman. The paper had thus far remained Whig in politics, but on the nomination of Taylor, in 1848, Mr. Tyler began to waver, and finally hoisted the free soil flag, and the names of the candidates of the Buffalo Convention. On the 1st of May, 1849, he sold the Courier to Henry S. Gere, who still owns, publishes and edits it.

THE HAMPSHIRE REPUBLICAN was commenced February 18th, 1835, with Chauncey Clark as editor, who thus remained until the following November. Oliver Warner became the editor in 1836. In 1837, Lewis Ferry became the editor and proprietor. During the early years of the existence of the Republican, (the precise date we have been unable to ascertain,) its name was changed to the NORTHAMPTON DEMOCRAT. It then passed through a multitude of hands, and various management, which a lack of files renders it impossible to follow out. Levi Strong, Apollos Munn, Dr. Taber, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Russell, all held a brief reign over its fortunes, politics and pages. On the 1st of July, 1847, its subscription list was purchased by the Springfield Post, and it was issued from that establishment, with its old head, and its matter made up from the Post, until the discontinuance of the latter in 1854.

The TEMPERANCE BANNER was the name of a temperance bi-monthly, commenced on the 21st of February, 1835, by Timothy H. Mather, and continued by him until October, 1836.

On the 4th of February, 1845, A. W. Thayer commenced the publication of the HAMPSHIRE HERALD, as the organ of the Liberty party, thus known, and so called. The paper was owned by J. P. Williston of Northampton and Joel Hayden of Williamsburg. It was continued until August 15th, 1848. During the last year of its publication, Henry S. Gere published the Herald, in company with Hervey J. Smith. It was merged in the Northampton Courier on the 22d of August. As has already been stated, Mr. Gere did not become the proprietor of the Courier until the May following.

In the Autumn of 1849, Hervey J. Smith published one or two numbers of a paper called the INDEPENDENT CITIZEN, but the promise of support was so slender that its continuance was not attempted.

RECAPITULATION.

NAME	WHEN STARTED.	WHAT BECAME OF IT.
Hampshire Gazette, (Weekly)	Sept. 6, 1786,	still extant.
Hampshire Gazette, (Daily)	May 27, 1846,	discontinued July 20, 1846.
Patriotic Gazette,	April 12, 1799,	discontinued about 1801.
Republican Spy,	1804,	changed to the
Anti-Monarchist,	Dec. 14, 1808,	changed to
The Democrat,	March 12, 1811,	discontinued about 1815.
The Hive,	Aug. 1803,	discontinued early in 1805.
The Oracle,	1823,	discontinued 1826.
Northampton Courier,	1829,	still extant.
Hampshire Republican,	Feb. 18, 1835,	changed to the
Northampton Democrat,		sold to Springfield Post, July 1, 1847.
Temperance Banner,	Feb. 21, 1835,	discontinued Oct. 1836.
Hampshire Herald,	Feb. 4, 1845,	merged in Courier Aug. 22, 1848
Independent Citizen,	1848,	still born.

THE PRESS OF AMHERST.

The first periodical publication issued in Amherst was THE CHEMIST AND METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL. It was devoted to the Arts and Sciences, and was edited by Prof. John B. Cotting. Its first number was issued on the 1st of July, 1826, and the paper was published weekly by Carter & Adams. It only lived six months, when it was discontinued for the want of adequate support.

The NEW ENGLAND ENQUIRER was commenced December 1, 1826, by Carter & Adams, and was continued for two years. It was edited the first year by Hon. Osmyn Baker, now of Northampton, and the second year by Rev. Prof. Worcester, then of Amherst College. The paper never had a large circulation.

In May, 1831, the students of Amherst College commenced the issue of a periodical called THE SPRITE, which has been continued, with brief intervals of suspension, until the present time. During this period, however, its name has undergone several changes. It has been called "THE SHRINE," "HORÆ COLLEGIANÆ," "INDICATOR," &c., while at present it sails under the simple and unimprovable name of the AMHERST COLLEGIATE MAGAZINE.

THE AMHERST GAZETTE was commenced in the year 1839, and was published and edited by James B. Yerrington. This publication continued only about six months.

THE HAMPSHIRE AND FRANKLIN EXPRESS was commenced by J. S. & C. Adams, in September, 1844, under the editorial charge of Samuel Nash, who continued in that charge for about two and a half years. In May, 1848, Homer A. Cooke purchased the Express, and became its publisher and editor. He disposed of the paper to J. R. Trumbull in July, 1849, who edited and published the Express until March, 1853, when the original projectors of the paper again became its proprietors. The editorial management of the Express then came into the hands of Leander Wetherell, where it still remains. Mr. Trumbull, as has already been stated, became the editor of the Hampshire Gazette.

At the commencement of 1855, the CONNECTICUT VALLEY FARMER was removed from Springfield to Amherst, where Prof. J. A. Nash, its editor, became also its publisher.

THE PRESS OF WARE.

The VILLAGE GAZETTE was the first newspaper started in Ware. The first number was issued on the 7th of July, 1847, by Hemenway & Fisk. It was neutral in politics. On the 15th of March, 1848, Mr. Fisk disposed of his interest to Mr. Hemenway, but continued its editor until January 1st, 1849. During the same month, Mr. Hemenway sold out the establishment to Mandell & Hathaway, who continued to publish it, with an alteration of its title to THE WARE GAZETTE, until the summer of 1850, when the subscription list was purchased by J. F. Downing. Mr. Downing founded upon this list the WARE AMERICAN, and, by the aid of an association of gentlemen, was enabled to enlarge his paper, and to continue its issue until the following Autumn, when he disposed of his list to the proprietors of the Springfield Republican.

The WARE OFFERING, a monthly publication, designed for factory operatives, was started January, 1848, by S. F. Pepper. It only reached three or four numbers. The WARE WEEKLY COURIER was started January 1, 1848, by C. H. & W. F. Brown. This was a foreign concern, with a Ware head, the paper being made up from the columns of the Worcester Ægis, and sent to Ware for distribution. Only three numbers were published. There is no newspaper published in Ware at the present time.

THE PRESS OF GREENFIELD.

The IMPARTIAL INTELLIGENCER, the first paper issued in Greenfield, was started by Thomas Dickman, on the 1st of February, 1792, on a sheet measuring 16 by 19 1-2 inches. The name of the paper was changed in the August following to the GREENFIELD GAZETTE, and, on the 5th of March, 1795, to the GREENFIELD GAZETTE, OR MASSACHUSETTS AND VERMONT TELEGRAPH. Its publication was continued under this name until January 1, 1798, when the paper recurred to its former name—the Greenfield Gazette. On the 20th of August, 1798, Mr. Dickman sold the Gazette to Francis Barker, who, in his introductory address, says, in regard to the responsibility of the press: "The office of a conductor of a public print, in its operation upon the public mind, is, perhaps, of more importance to the general opinion of a nation than the occupation of any other individual in the community. By promulgating error he becomes a noon-day pestilence to society, but by diffusing truth he is, in effect, a powerful instrument of general utility and happiness." Mr. Barker in a few weeks altered the title of the paper to the GREENFIELD GAZETTE—A REGISTER OF GENUINE FEDERALISM. His connection with the paper was brief. On the 17th of June, 1799, he sold the establishment back to Mr. Dickman. This was at the time of seriously threatening difficulties between France and this country, and, having received a commission as Captain or Lieutenant, Mr. Barker joined what was called "John Adams' Army," at Oxford. He died some twenty years since.

Mr. Dickman continued the publication of the paper to May 31, 1802, when he sold it to John Denio, an apprentice in his office. Mr. Denio dropped from the title the ponderous suffix adopted by Mr. Barker, and again came out with the Greenfield Gazette. Mr. Denio continued the publication of the Gazette until the 5th of February, 1811, when he disposed of it to Ansel Phelps of Northampton, a printer, who had served his apprenticeship in the office of the Hampshire Gazette, then under the charge of William Butler. The first number of the Gazette issued by Mr. Phelps bears the date of February 12, 1811. He changed the title of the paper, and the uneasy name became THE TRAVELLER. On the division of the old County of Hampshire, and the establishment of Franklin County, the Traveller became THE FRANKLIN HERALD, the first number being issued January 7, 1812. On the following 7th of May, Mr. Phelps disposed of one half of his interest in the Herald to John Denio, whose name has already been associated with the proprietorship of the paper. Denio & Phelps continued the publication until November 7, 1815, when the connection was dissolved, and the Herald came back into the hands of Mr. Phelps, and Mr. Denio changed the printing for the mercantile business. Mr. Phelps continued the Herald in connection with the business of book-printing and book-selling until May 27, 1817, when a business connection was re-formed between him and Mr. Denio. Denio & Phelps then published the Herald until May 20, 1823, when Mr. Denio again sold out to Mr. Phelps. On the 17th of June, 1828, Mr. Phelps associated with himself, as partner, Jonathan A. Saxton of Deerfield, whose duties were confined to the editorial chair. Mr. Saxton remained connected with the paper until June 22, 1824, when the firm was dissolved, and the paper came again into the hands of Mr. Phelps, as sole proprietor and editor.

In June, 1823, the GREENFIELD GAZETTE was started by Denio, Clark & Tyler, as a competitor of the Herald. Gen. Alanson Clark, one of the members of the firm, soon bought out his partners, and continued the publication of the Gazette until June 18, 1827, when he entered into an arrangement with Mr. Phelps, who still remained the publisher of the Herald, by which the two papers should be united under the name of the GREENFIELD GAZETTE AND FRANKLIN HERALD, and the two proprietors under the firm of Phelps & Clark. On the 16th of June, 1829, the firm was dissolved, Mr. Phelps buying Mr. Clark's interest, and again becoming sole owner and publisher. Very soon, however, he took in as partner Charles J. J. Ingersoll, and the firm became Phelps & Ingersoll. Mr. Ingersoll retired from the concern on the 30th of December, 1834, and the paper was continued by Mr. Phelps until July 4, 1837, when it was united with the Franklin Mercury, the name being changed to the GAZETTE AND MERCURY, and Mr. Ingersoll again becoming the associate of Mr. Phelps in the publishing firm.

THE FRANKLIN MERCURY, united with the Gazette & Herald in 1837, as above mentioned, was started by George T. Davis in 1833, and was conducted by him with much ability until 1836, when he disposed of it to Mr. Ingersoll, who continued it up to the time of its union with the paper of Mr. Phelps. In these hands went on the publication of the Gazette & Mercury, until the 13th of July, 1841, when the firm of Phelps & Ingersoll was dissolved, and Mr. Phelps was again alone.

In the meantime, a new competitor had come upon the ground. The GREENFIELD COURIER was established April 10th, 1838, by J. C. Kneeland. After publishing the Courier about three months, Samuel S. Eastman became associated with him in partnership, the firm being Kneeland & Eastman. Mr. Kneeland soon retired, leaving Mr. Eastman, nominally, at least, the sole proprietor. In July, 1841, Mr. Phelps made an arrangement with Mr. Eastman, by which their respective establishments should be united under the name of the GAZETTE & COURIER. The members of the new firm were Ansel Phelps, S. S. Eastman, and George T. Davis, the firm being S. S. Eastman & Co. D. W. Alvord was the editor of the Gazette & Courier, for about eight months, when Henry L. Dawes, then a student at law, and now District Attorney, became the editor, and continued thus until September, 1842, when he removed to North Adams, where he at present resides. S. S. Eastman & Co. continued the publication of the Gazette & Courier until July, 1847, (Mr. Davis having closed his connection with the concern some years previously by sale to his partners,) when Mr. Eastman sold out his part to Mr. Ingersoll, who, in the meantime, had removed to and returned from Westfield, N. Y., where he had established the Westfield Messenger.

Mr. Eastman went from Greenfield to Newport, R. I., and there entered upon the publication of the "Herald of the Times and the Rhode Islander," a paper which he had previously purchased. He soon afterwards established the Daily Herald, which he continued to publish until he left the place to return to his old field of operations in Greenfield.

Messrs. Phelps & Ingersoll entered upon the publication of the Gazette & Courier as editors and joint owners, July 20, 1847, under the name of C. J. J. Ingersoll & Co. After the nomination of Gen. Taylor for the presidency, in 1848, a division of opinion between the two members of the firm, in regard to supporting him for that office, became the cause of a dissolution. Mr. Phelps went for the whig nomination; Mr. Ingersoll did not go for it. Both being decided, and unwilling to yield, the firm was dissolved on the 21st of November, 1848, Mr. Phelps becoming once more sole proprietor, with the right and disposition to raise the Taylor flag, under which he fought during the remainder of the campaign. On leaving the Gazette, Mr. Ingersoll became an adherent of the free soil party, and started a paper for the advocacy of that political interest, with the title of the AMERICAN REPUBLIC, which he still continues to publish. Mr. Phelps continued the publication of the

Gazette & Courier alone until the 16th of January, 1849, when he disposed of one-half of his interest to Mr. Eastman, and S. S. Eastman & Co. have continued in the publication of the paper since without change.

The FRANKLIN DEMOCRAT was established in 1840, by Binea Sperry and Alanson Hawley, under the firm of B. Sperry & Co. Mr. Sperry remained in connection with the paper but a few months, and left it in the hands of Mr. Hawley, who continued its publisher and editor until sometime during 1841, when he was succeeded by Bailey H. Hawkins, who, soon afterwards, took in David S. Ruddock as partner. Whiting Griswold, a lawyer with democratic politics, had the editorial charge of the paper for some time after this. Mr. Hawkins sold out his interest in the paper in 1842, to Lewis C. Munn, and the paper was continued by Munn & Ruddock, Mr. Munn acting as editor until the Spring of 1843, when he sold out to F. A. Townsley. Ruddock & Townsley published the Democrat three or four months, when Ruddock sold to Townsley, who continued the publication until the 1st of January, 1844, with Milo Seaver as editor, a young man of fine abilities who died a year or two afterwards. He then disposed of the establishment to Rinaldo R. Taylor. Mr. Taylor received an appointment in the Boston Custom House in July, 1845, but continued to publish the paper until January, 1848, when he disposed of his interest in it to Samuel O. Lamb, who had edited it from 1845. On the 1st of January, 1852, Mr. Lamb sold the concern to Joseph H. Sprague, who, in January, 1854, sold to Charles H. Mirick, the present proprietor and editor.

The remaining papers of Greenfield were short-lived and unsuccessful. The FRANKLIN FEDERALIST, published by Russell Wells, was started in 1816, and had a brief run. The FRANKLIN POST AND CHRISTIAN FREEMAN was established April 19, 1825, with Jonathan A. Saxton as editor. It was printed by Samuel H. Pinks, for the proprietors. This paper is the one alluded to in the history of the press of Northampton, as having been removed from Greenfield to that town. Its existence was not long in either town.

FREEDOM'S SENTINEL was started in Athol by Alonzo Rawson, and was removed to Greenfield about 1830. It had a sickly existence, and was discontinued soon after its removal.

The FRANKLIN FREEMAN, an Anti-Masonic paper, was started in Deerfield by Gen. Epaphras Hoyt, and was edited by him—Fogg & Currier, printers and publishers. The paper lived during that memorable excitement.

THE WORKINGMEN'S ADVOCATE was started in 1836, by J. M. Campbell, printer and publisher. It was edited by Rodolphus Dickinson of Deerfield, and devoted principally to the interests of the Workingmen's party. Samuel C. Allen, after leaving the whig party, was nominated for Governor by the "working men," and the Advocate urged his election. The paper had but a brief existence.

The history of the newspapers of Greenfield is unparalleled by that of the press of any other town in the State, in the changes of their names and proprietors. The changes through which the origin of the Gazette & Courier is to be arrived at, are beyond the reach of a recapitulatory table, and can only properly be compassed by a "geneological tree." The Democrat, while adhering to its original name, has changed proprietors quite as frequently as its neighbor. These changes are noteworthy from being simply accidental, as the papers of Franklin County have been as profitable as those of other counties.

Mr. Dickman has already been noticed in connection with the newspaper press of Springfield. John Denio, as has already been stated, was an apprentice of Mr. Dickman. After leaving Greenfield, when Mr. Dickman sold to Mr. Barker, he worked for Andrew Wright a few weeks, and then went to Boston and worked a short time for Baker & Andrews. In the Winter of 1800, he started a paper at Randolph, Vt., in connection with Sereno Wright, formerly of Northampton. Alone, and with Messrs. Phelps and Clark, he published the Gazette for 24 years. He removed to Albany in June, 1827. He is now in Albion, N. Y., and has worked at the case and in the editorial chair about half a century. He is now probably the oldest editor in the State of New York. Mr. Phelps has remained connected with the newspaper press a greater period of time than any other man now or heretofore living in the Connecticut Valley. Thomas Dickman, William Butler, Samuel Bowles, A. G. Tannatt and their copatriarchs, all fall from fifteen to twenty years behind him in this particular, and he must be styled the patriarch of the Connecticut Valley press. He has been an editor and publisher in what may be considered one concern, for a period of forty-three years. He has been fortunate in business, and enjoys in his old age a handsome property, the fruits of his industry and enterprise.

THE PRESS OF PITTSFIELD.

It is a noticeable fact that the four Western counties, though occupying the range of a century in their settlement, occupied the range of only ten years in starting the newspaper. The first newspaper press was established in Springfield in 1782, Northampton followed in 1786, Pittsfield in 1787, Stockbridge in 1789, and Greenfield in 1792. The name of the first paper in Pittsfield was THE AMERICAN CENTINEL. E. Russell was the printer. Whether he, with his contemporary, John Russell of Springfield, was a brother of Benjamin Russell of Boston, we cannot tell. The Centinel was started December 1st, 1787, on a sheet ten by eighteen inches, and on this modest array of superficial inches, the printer had the audacity to use the following motto:

"Here you may range the world from pole to pole,
Increase your knowledge, and delight your soul."

Mr. Russell "returns his thanks to those gentlemen who expressed their anxiety to have the printing office at Pittsfield, by engaging him to print a certain number of papers, and begs leave to inform them that he has a large number of papers on hand for which he has, as yet, received nothing, and which he wishes those gentlemen to call for, according to agreement. If agreements are not fulfilled, the Centinel must stop." This was in the second number of the paper, and it was doubtless stopped very soon afterwards.

The next paper in order was, doubtless, the BERKSHIRE CHRONICLE. This was started on the 8th of May, 1788, was "published by Roger Storrs near the meeting house," and bore, for its motto:

"Free as the savage roams his native wood,
Or finny nations swim the briny flood."

The second number of this paper contains two well written moral essays on the first page, and quite extended foreign news on the second, while the other pages are occupied by a good summary of domestic news, a poet's corner headed "The Parnassian Packet," agricultural reading, and advertisements. The first number is 12 by 8 inches in size. The 31st number, which appears as the BERKSHIRE CHRONICLE AND MASSACHUSETTS INTELLIGENCER, is enlarged to the size of 18 inches by 10. The advertisements came much more from other towns in Berkshire County than Pittsfield. Fugitive slaves from New York are advertised, among other things. This paper was really conducted with much talent, and must have been, for its time, a remarkable affair. Its facilities for getting news may be ascertained in the paper of April 24, 1789, which had Boston news to April 20, New York to April 3, and London to December 20, the previous year. In the paper of May 3d, the proceedings of Congress are brought down to April 15th. This paper was living, January 17, 1790, with no indications of dissolution. The date of its discontinuance is beyond our knowledge. We have a traditionary account of a paper started by a Mr. Spooner, about 1790, and soon afterwards removed to Windsor, Vt., and of another by Merrill & Smith, between 1790 and 1800, which had a brief existence. We have seen no files of these papers, and can give neither their names or dates.

On the 16th of September, 1800, the PITTSFIELD SUN was established, and still lives with an unchanged name. It was started by Phineas Allen, who still carries on the paper, in connection with his son, and whose patriarchal claims are ahead of those of Mr. Phelps of Greenfield, by ten years. It has been the fortune of very few men in America to remain connected with the newspaper press so long and so uninterruptedly as Mr. Allen. When the publication first commenced, the printing was done upon paper manufactured in Springfield, which, at that time, contained the only mill in Western Massachusetts. The politics of the Sun are democratic.

The BERKSHIRE REPORTER was started by Dutton & Smith. The date of its commencement we have not been able to ascertain, though before 1809, Dutton had retired, the paper had been published by Seymour & Smith for a time, and Seymour had retired.

It was then continued by Milo Smith & Co. Smith was not a good business man, and got in debt. To get out, he agreed to get ten men of the federal party (whose organ the paper was) to become responsible for him, on giving them a mortgage on his press and type. He got three, and then crossed the line into New York. The victimized three paid his debts, and continued the paper with the imprint of "E. Leonard, for the proprietors." The Reporter closed its life somewhere between 1815, the date of the latest copy we have seen, and 1820.

THE ARGUS was started in May, 1827—Henry K. Strong, editor, and M. Spooner printer. Mr. Strong became embarrassed, and adopting an *irregular* method for extricating himself, left the State. The Argus was then removed to Lenox, and, as it subsequently returned to Pittsfield, in another form, the necessity is involved of giving a side story which, after all, must be told somewhere. In 1827, J. D. Cushing of Boston received proposals to emigrate to South Adams with a printing office, and large offers were made him to start a paper there. Mr. Cushing's knowledge of Berkshire was limited, and his faith in unwritten promises too great by half. He accepted the offer, and the good people of North Adams hearing of the event, determined not to be outdone. Doct. Green, who established the BERKSHIRE AMERICAN in Pittsfield a short time previously, was visited, liberal offers made to him, and the American was removed to North Adams, and the first number issued there before Mr. Cushing reached the South village. He arrived in May, and soon afterwards got out the first number of the ADAMS REPUBLICAN. This paper he continued for about seven months, when he abandoned the land of promise, and went to Lenox, with his printing materials. This was in December, 1827. At this time, Charles Webster was publishing the BERKSHIRE STAR in Stockbridge, also without sufficient encouragement. And here it will be necessary to give the history of the Star. Its publication was commenced in Stockbridge in Nov., 1789, by Loring Andrews of Boston. He removed from Stockbridge to Pittsfield, and, during its existence, the paper came under the charge in succession of Benjamin Rossiter and Heman Willard in company, Heman Willard alone, Edward Seymour, Elisha Brown and Jared Curtis in company, Richard H. Ashley and Charles Webster in company, and, at last, of Charles Webster alone. The names of the paper had been successively "The Western Star," "The Political Atlas," "The Farmer's Herald," "The Berkshire Herald," and "The Berkshire Star." This summarily brings the history of the paper down to the date of its junction with the Republican at Lenox, when, at the beginning of 1828, Mr. Webster removed to Lenox and issued, in connection with Mr. Cushing, the BERKSHIRE STAR AND COUNTY REPUBLICAN. This paper they continued to publish at Lenox for about two years, when Mr. Webster disposed of his interest to John Stanley. After the lapse of another year, Mr. Stanley sold to John Z. Goodrich. Messrs. Cushing & Goodrich continued the publication for some time under the name of the BERKSHIRE JOURNAL, when Samuel W. Bush, who had, in the meantime, become the publisher of the Argus at Pittsfield, moved his paper to Lenox, and there united it with the Journal, under the head of the JOURNAL AND ARGUS. In 1833, the establishment was purchased by Charles Montague, who changed the name to the MASSACHUSETTS EAGLE, and employed Henry W. Taft as editor. Mr. Taft continued the editor until Mr. Montague himself assumed the chair in 1840. In 1842, the paper was removed to Pittsfield, and in this form did the Argus return to its birth place. The Eagle remained in the hands of Mr. Montague until November 20, 1852, when it was purchased by Samuel Bowles & Co. of Springfield, and leased by them to Otis F. R. Waite, who changed the name to the BERKSHIRE COUNTY EAGLE, and published it for one year, when the establishment was sold to Henry Chickering of North Adams and H. A. Marsh of Pittsfield, by whom, much improved in all respects, it is still continued.

The Berkshire American, of which incidental mention has already been made, touching its removal to North Adams, was characterized by a wit which could safely be pronounced peculiar, and the "Doct. Green" who edited it, received his degree from "the people's college." He had been a post rider for the Sun.

The BERKSHIRE COUNTY WHIG was started in 1840.

It was edited by Hon. Henry Hubbard, and printed and published by his son, Douglas S. Hubbard, who went to California in 1849, when the paper was discontinued. In the first Native American movement, the Whig sustained Henry Shaw of Lanesboro, the candidate of that party for Governor, and supported free soilism in 1848. A portion of the time it went for and with the Whigs.

The BERKSHIRE AGRICULTURIST was commenced in January, 1847, by Montague & Little. Mr. Little retiring, the paper was continued by Mr. Montague, until it was sold to Dr. Stephen Reed, who changed the name to the CULTURIST AND GAZETTE. The paper is now published by Reed, Hull & Pierson, and is edited by Dr. Reed. The Culturist and Gazette is made up with agricultural information, general news, and literary miscellany.

Thaddeus Clapp 3d, in 1840, published a campaign paper called OLD TIP. It supported Gen. Harrison, and Gen. Harrison was elected.

THE CATARACT, a temperance paper, was established in 1844, by T. D. Bonner, by whom it was continued for about two years. It passed into the hands of Quigley, Kingsley & Axtell, who continued it about 18 months, when its name was changed to THE VOICE OF TRUTH, and it came under the charge of "an association of gentlemen." It was imprudent in the expression of its views, and stands alone in Berkshire in the honor of having its office mobbed. Its list was finally sold to an Albany paper.

The INSTITUTE OMNIBUS was the name of a periodical issued by the Pittsfield Young Ladies' Institute for several years. We are not supplied with dates.

In 1846, William D. Axtell published a paper called THE STAR, which lived but 6 months.

THE PRESS OF GREAT BARRINGTON.

On the 16th of October, 1834, J. D. Cushing, having removed from Lenox to Great Barrington, issued there the first number of the BERKSHIRE COURIER. The publication was continued without interruption until the 10th of April, 1839, when the office was entirely destroyed by fire. The publication re-commenced on the 19th of May, and has not failed since, except one week in the Autumn of 1854 when the office was again destroyed by fire. In April, 1846, the name of the paper was changed to the

BERKSHIRE COURIER AND GREAT BARRINGTON GAZETTE, and on the first of May of that year, Clark W. Bryan of Hudson, N. Y., became associated in the ownership and publication of the paper with Mr. Cushing. The connection was brief, and in the following November, Mr. Bryan retired.

And here, in order to proceed intelligibly, it will be necessary to take up the history of other papers. About 1840, a paper was started in Lee, called THE BERKSHIRE DEMOCRAT. It was subsequently removed to Stockbridge and enlarged, the name becoming THE WEEKLY VISITOR. It was edited by Jonathan E. Field. Its life was brief, and at its decease the printing materials were taken to Great Barrington, where they were used in giving life to the INDEPENDENT PRESS, by Kipp & Murray. This was in 1845, and about April 1st, 1846, Theodore Dewey started the HOUSATONIC MIRROR, a whig paper, in opposition to the Courier, also whig. Mr. Dewey joined Kipp & Murray, in one firm, and the new whig and democratic papers were printed in the same office, with the same type, and contained the same matter, except the political editorials.

When Mr. Bryan retired from the Courier, Mr. Dewey withdrew from the firm of Dewey, Kipp & Murray, formed a connection with Mr. Cushing, under the firm of Cushing & Dewey, and united the Mirror with the Courier, with the name of THE BERKSHIRE COURIER AND HOUSATONIC MIRROR. Mr. Dewey withdrew from the business department of the paper at the end of a year, though he filled the editorial chair for several months afterwards. On the first of November, 1849, Mr. Bryan again became associated with Mr. Cushing in business, and performed the editorial labor of the paper. In November, 1852, he again withdrew from the Courier, that being the date of his original connection with the Springfield Republican. The Courier has since then been published by Mr. Cushing alone.

In 1847, the Independent Press came into the hands of John Evans, who, shortly afterwards, suspended operations for want of support. Thus the Courier and Mr. Cushing are once more alone. The Courier has completed its 20th volume, and the publisher, still more venerable, holds an honorable place among the fathers of the craft in Western Massachusetts.

THE PRESS OF NORTH ADAMS.

The Berkshire American, weekly, was the first newspaper printed at North Adams. It was *neutral*, and was edited by Dr. Asa Green, who issued the first number early in the winter of 1826–7. The subscription list never exceeded 400. The undertaking was disastrous to those who first engaged in the experiment of establishing a press there, as they sunk nearly the amount of their investment. The paper had a sickly existence of about two years.

The Socialist was also published by the same unfortunate pioneers, being merely the matter of the Berkshire American, on a smaller sheet, reprinted without the advertisements. It had about 100 subscribers.

The Berkshire American, (No. 2.). In 1830, Atwill & Turner were induced to recommence the publication of this paper. With the same old Ramage press, but with some additions to the type, they got up a very respectable sheet, for those days, which they served to 500 subscribers, for nearly two years. Heman Atwill was the editor.

The Adams Gazette, and Farmers' and Mechanics' Magazine, neutral, next came upon the stage: Wm. M. Mitchell, editor and publisher. This paper had some 450 subscribers, and existed one and a half years.

The Berkshire Advocate. In 1833, A. H. Wells appeared in the field, and, with the aid of some enterprising citizens, a new press and modern styles of type were added to the old concern, and the above paper appeared, advocating Whig doctrines. It had 400 subscribers, and lived about one year.

The **Greylock Mirror** was then brought out by William M. Mitchell, with 400 subscribers, and printed about six months. For several years, none could be found bold enough to undertake the revival of a press there, the want of which was severely felt, by all classes of the community.

The Adams Transcript, a Whig paper, was commenced September 7, 1843, by John R. Briggs, with 600 subscribers. In April, 1844, he associated with him Henry Chickering, and in the following December, Mr. Briggs retired from the concern, since which time Mr. Chickering has been sole proprietor. At some periods, Hon. Henry L. Dawes has had charge of the editorial department. The

Transcript has always given an effective support to all sound projects of reform, and has also been an efficient party paper. It has now about 750 subscribers.

THE GREYLOCK SENTINEL was started as a Free-soil paper, February 15, 1851, A. J. Aikens, editor. In February, 1852, Mr. Aikens retired, and the editorial chair was assumed by A. D. Brock. The Sentinel averaged about 650 subscribers, and in the autumn of 1854 was changed to THE FREE AMERICAN, by Mr. Brock, who still continues the publication.

CHAPTER V.

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.

IT may seem somewhat incredible to our staid New England people, that a monk, one of the most rigid supporters of his order,—in the center of Europe,—back in the fifteenth century, should have been more directly instrumental than any other human being, in dotting the hills of Berkshire and the valley of the Connecticut with school houses, and diffusing general intelligence among the people. Yet such seems to have been the fact. Nay more: had not the papal authority transferred the right to sell indulgences from the Augustine friars, among whom Martin Luther was an intolerant champion, to the Dominicans, instead of free protestant schools and institutions, the whole character of this population, and public sentiment in all respects, might have been totally different from what they now are. The spirit of the Reformation which followed the opposition of Luther to the papacy, extended to the northern part of England; and from the counties of Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire and Lancashire came those men who, abandoning their native soil, "resolved whatever it should cost them," to enjoy liberty of conscience. In 1608, they first made their escape from persecution to Holland, where they remained in peace and were greatly prospered, during a period of about twelve years.

A desire for undisturbed enjoyment of religious opinions and principles, is usually considered to have been the principal cause which induced our puritan fathers to brave the dangers of an untried ocean, and adopt a western wilderness, as their home. But it appears from authentic sources that their anxiety for the welfare of their children, —for the right training and education of their youth,—to save them from the besetting immoral tendencies which everywhere surrounded them in Holland, had more immediate and direct influence in hastening their determination to remove, than any other circumstance. Had it not been for this, undisturbed as they were in the enjoyment of their religion, they might have made the first country to which they fled, their permanent residence; and who can tell what people would have possessed this fair land—what institutions would have characterized it? In nothing did our ancestors manifest wiser forethought, or more marked prudence and sagacity, than in raising up a generation of men who should be worthy successors of themselves,—men of stern integrity,—capable of transmitting to posterity the principles—the frame-work of a free, a happy, and a mighty nation. No sooner had those refugees from tyranny and persecution planted their feet upon this soil, than the noble system of educating *all* for higher spheres of usefulness and happiness was commenced.

In June, 1630, Winthrop and others established themselves on the spot where Boston now stands. Within five years from that time, and fifteen after the landing at Plymouth, there is ample evidence of the establishment of a *Free School* in Boston. As the neighboring towns were subsequently settled, among the first acts of the people are found measures for the organization, and provision for the support, of schools, for the youth of all classes.

The following may be taken as a specimen of the manner in which the people moved spontaneously for the education of the children. It is taken from the town records of the present city of Salem, dated September 30, 1644:

> "Ordered" (by the magistrates) "that a note be published on next lecture day, that such as have children to be kept at schoole, would bring in their names, and what they will give for one whole year; and also, that if any poor body hath children, or a childe to be put to schoole and not able to pay for their schooling, that the town will pay for it by rate."

The founding of a college, and the instruction of *all* the children in the English tongue, the capital laws, and the grounds and principles of religion, were among the first objects of attention in the Massachusetts colony. As early as 1636, the General Court appropriated £400 for the erection of a public school at Newtown, afterwards called Cambridge, in memory of the place in England where many of the first settlers received their education. In 1638, John Harvard, a minister of Charlestown, died, leaving by will £779 17s. 2d. for the benefit of this institution, and by order of the General Court, in honor of its earliest benefactor, it was named HARVARD COLLEGE. It may be interesting to many, at the present day, to know what slender contributions were gratefully received by this institution, in the early period of its existence, ranking, as it now does, among the wealthiest in the land. We quote again from the records of Salem, date 1644:—"As suggested by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, to use their influence, that every family allow one peck of corn, or 12d. in money, or other commodity, to be sent in to the Treasurer of Cambridge College, or where in Boston, or Charlestown, he may appoint."

Great reliance was, very properly, placed on efficient family government and instruction. As early as 1642, we find the Legislature devoting attention to domestic education, and the proper training of children in families. The following preamble and legislative order, will give an idea of the family government required, and the reasons used to enforce it:

"Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth; and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kind:

"It is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof,—That the Select-men of every town in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see, first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavor to teach by themselves or others, their children and apprentices so much learning as to enable them to read perfectly the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws, upon a penalty of 20s. for each neglect therein; also that all masters of families do, once a week, at least, catechise their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion; and further, that all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest, lawful calling, labor or employment, either in husbandry, or some trade profitable to themselves or the Commonwealth, if they will not, nor cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher employments. And if the Select-men, after admonition by them given to such masters of families, shall still find them negligent of their duties in the particulars afore-mentioned, whereby children and servants become rude, stubborn and unruly, the said Select-men, with the help of two magistrates, shall take such children or apprentices from them, and place them with some master for years,—boys till they come to twenty one,—and girls till eighteen years complete, which will more strictly look unto and enforce them to submit to government, according to the rules of this order, if by fair means and former instructions they will not be drawn into it."

Corporal punishment was not unfrequently inflicted upon offending children and apprentices, by the magistrates. Not to keep and maintain the schools required by law has been an indictable offense in Massachusetts since 1647. The following is an act of that year:

> "It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the scriptures,—as in former times by keeping them *in* an unknown tongue,—so in these latter times, by persuading them *from* the use of tongues, so that at least, the true sense of the original might be clouded with false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers; and that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors; It is therefore ordered, &c."

Here follows the enactment which stands upon our statute books, substantially the same, to this day, whereby all towns having a certain number of families shall maintain public schools of various grades from the primary to the high school. And this, it should be remembered, was in 1647,—or more than two hundred years ago. During the same year, an additional law was enacted, requiring every town of *one hundred* families to "maintain a grammar school in which children may be prepared for college;" to which still another was added in 1683, providing that every town containing *five hundred* families, should maintain *two* grammar schools and two writing schools,—a burden which, considering the feeble means of the colony, and the dark period in which it was assumed, was no doubt vastly greater than any similar burden that has been borne since; and when compared with the present wealth of the State, greater than any one of its civil expenses. It is a singular fact, too, that no legal requisitions made since, have, even in name or form, come up to this noble standard, established by our poor and suffering forefathers in the middle of the 17th century. It is wonderful, too, that such views and such a spirit should prevail, when we reflect that these men had just come from a land where equal rights and privileges were altogether ignored; where the wealthy inhabitants could educate their children as they pleased, to such an extent and for such an object as they chose, to occupy the places of honor and emolument from which the poor must be forever excluded, because of their incompetency and ignorance,—to remain "hewers of wood and drawers of water." But probably their own personal experience had taught them, by contrast, those principles by which men can govern themselves and grant equal privileges to all.

This cursory view of the action taken by the early settlers of Massachusetts, exhibits something of the importance they attached to education, as an element of national as well as individual character. The lesson which the Puritans had been taught by the dangers to which their children had been exposed in Leyden, undoubtedly urged them to perform with greater efficiency the duties of family government and instruction. Hence their great solicitude to have their children trained "to some honest, lawful calling, profitable to themselves and the Commonwealth;" that they should attend meeting on the Sabbath, and behave with decency and reverence during the time of public worship. Special care was taken to prevent their being out at unseasonable hours, or in improper company. To prevent parents from being neglectful in these matters, if any were so inclined, the laws were made exceedingly stringent, of which the following extract affords an illustration:

> "This Court do hereupon order and decree that the chosen men appointed for managing the prudential affairs of the town shall have power to take account, from time to time, of the parents and masters and of their children, concerning the calling and employment of their children, to impose fines upon all those who refuse to render such account to them when required; and they shall have power (with consent of any court or magistrate) to put forth and apprentice the children of such as shall not be able and fit to employ and bring them up, nor shall take course to dispose of them themselves; and they are to take care that such as are set to keep cattle, be set to some employment withal, as spinning upon the rock, knitting, weaving tape, &c.; and that boys and girls be not suffered to converse together so as may occasion any wan-

ton, dishonest, or immodest behavior. And for the better performance of this trust committed to them, they (the magistrates) may divide the town amongst them, appointing to every of the said townsmen a certain number of families to have the special oversight of; they are to provide also that a sufficient quantity of materials, as hemp, flax, &c., may be raised in the several towns, and tools and implements provided for working the same. And for their assistance in this so needful and beneficial employment, if they meet with any difficulty or opposition which they cannot well master by their own power, they may have recourse to some of the magistrates who shall take such course for their help and encouragement as the occasion shall require according to justice; and the said townsmen, at the next court in those limits, after the end of their year, shall give a brief account in writing, of their proceeding therein."

With such domestic care and training, the common school, limited and deficient in its means, as it was, proved, unquestionably, more effective in its results, in many respects, than it has in modern times. Then, temptations and objects calculated to divert and distract the mind were less common; the moral feelings and sentiment were generally cultivated with more faithfulness at home, than at the present day. The prevailing public sentiment, as it then existed, had a powerful influence to keep the young under restraint, scarcely known at present. Individual responsibility then accomplished what is now thrown, in a great measure, on the Sabbath school, the day school and general influences, to effect.

The views and principles of the first settlers of Massachusetts thus recited have a general application to every portion of the Commonwealth. The spirit which actuated them at first was manifested in every subsequent settlement throughout the colony. Wherever a band of hardy adventurers located themselves, there we find the same elements both of individual and associated character. The church and school, or means of instruction, in some form, were among the earliest objects of their attention. By way of illustration, let us follow some of the pioneers from their homes in the East, to the Western wilderness on the banks of the Connecticut.

Springfield was the first settlement in Western Massachusetts. William Pynchon who has been styled the founder and father of the town, came, with his associates, in 1636. The Legislature first recognized the settlement as a town in 1641. Three years after is found the first record relating to the care and training of youth. Among the duties devolving upon the Selectmen were the following:—"To hear complaints, arbitrate controversies, to lay out highways, see to the scouring of ditches, to the killing of wolves, *and to the training of children in their good ruling, &c.* A tract of land at the lower end of Chicopee plain, on the west side of the "great river," is said to have been appropriated by the town in 1654, "either for the helping to maintain a school master, or ruling elder, or to help bear any other town charges." The land was for many years rented, and the income expended in the support of schools. The first school house was built in 1679. It was 22 by 17 feet, the hight of the walls was 8 1-2 feet, and there was a chamber in it. The following entry is found in the book of Selectmen's orders in the year 1682. "The Selectmen agreed with Goodwife Mirick, to encourage her in the good work of training up of children and teaching children to read, that she should have 3d. a week for every child that she takes to perform this good work for."

As the population increased, the schools likewise became more numerous. During the past one hundred and fifty years, provision has been made for the support of public schools, and a grammar school has, with very short intermissions, been kept in addition to those of a lower grade. The appellation of "grammar school," formerly applied to a very different class of schools from what we now understand by that term. Throughout the whole code of school laws, from 1647 to about 1825, when allusion was made to grammar schools, it was understood to be one in which the Latin and Greek languages were taught—where young men were prepared to enter college.

Although the law of 1642 was general in its character, and required that instruction should be furnished to all, yet it did not render it free at this time, nor impose a penalty upon municipal authorities for neglecting to maintain public instruction. But such was the irresistible conviction of the people that this was an indispensable element in their existence as a Commonwealth, that they were a law unto themselves, and voluntarily made those provisions which they deemed essential for their welfare as a community, both for the present and all coming time. The peculiar circumstances of the Pilgrims, however, soon led them to decide that for all classes of public schools, compulsory measures must be adopted. Even among the Puritans, there were those so anti-puritanic that they were satisfied with the gratification of their "grosser nature," and the acquisition of "material substance." The sparseness of the population; the severe labor required to supply with their own hands the means necessary for a comfortable subsistence; the dangers that beset them on every hand from the hostility of their savage neighbors; the management of their municipal affairs, which not only demanded the enactment and execution of the laws, but required, during their progress, the invention of a system of government of which there was no model or prototype; such embarrassments, together with many of like character, of which it would be difficult, now, to form any adequate conception, made it necessary, at an early period, to throw safeguards around their institutions of learning, which should insure that attention necessary for their support and efficiency. Accordingly, in 1647, a law was passed rendering the maintenance of schools compulsory, whereby the privileges of instruction should be afforded *free*, to all. By this law, every town containing fifty householders was required to appoint a teacher, "to teach all such children as should resort to him to write and read;" and every town containing one hundred families, or householders, was required to "set up a grammar school," whose master should be "able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." The penalty for neglecting to comply with these requirements was fixed, at first, at five pounds per annum. In 1671, the penalty was increased to ten pounds; in 1683, to twenty pounds; in 1718, to thirty pounds for every town containing one hundred and fifty families, and to forty pounds for every two hundred families, and so on, at the same rate, for towns consisting of two hundred and fifty and three hundred families.*

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*Hon. Horace Mann estimates the relative value of money and labor such that it would take a laborer (having board) four hundred

Springfield maintained her "grammar school" except at short intervals, down to about the year 1820. From about 1812, the "old Academy," a private institution, started by an association of gentlemen, became a partial substitute for it; but both had ceased to exist in 1824. In the year 1827, an attempt was made to introduce the Lancasterian, or monitorial system of instruction, for the reason, as found on the records, that "the small funds and large number of scholars render the old mode impracticable." But this experiment continued only through the second year. It was soon ascertained that the only practical mode of obviating the difficulty was, to keep up a due proportion between the "large number of scholars" and the amount of funds necessary to educate them. In 1828, the grammar school was revived, under the modified form of a "Town High School," for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the township. The first principal of this school was Story Hebard; the second, Simeon H. Calhoun, now a missionary on Mount Lebanon, in Syria. It was designed and used exclusively as a school for boys. It is a remarkable fact that in all the liberal provisions for grammar and high schools, until within the last dozen years, everything has been done to give boys a superior education, but nothing for girls. Springfield has not been alone guilty of this delinquency. Boston, which, from time immemorial, has furnished its Latin and English high schools for boys, has never, until within the last five years, afforded the same privileges to girls. In the history of the heathen nations all over the globe, in all ages, it has been a matter of notoriety that males alone have been deemed worth educating and elevating to high positions of usefulness and enjoyment. A different philosophy is beginning to prevail: as opportunities are offered, females are found eager to improve them, and the community is already beginning to reap the benefit, in the largely increased number of thoroughly trained and competent female teachers, and in greater refinement in the family circle, and wherever in society the female mind exercises an influence.

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and eighty days to pay a fine of one pound; and that the first penalty imposed (five pounds) would be equivalent to the work of a common laborer (with board, but without clothing,) to twenty-four hundred days; or all the working days in almost eight years.

Previous to the Revolution, male teachers were almost exclusively employed; and it is only within the last quarter of a century that females have been employed to take charge of winter schools, the opinion formerly prevailing that they were incompetent to teach older pupils, and that they were deficient in an essential element of government —physical strength. Nor is such a supposition a matter of wonder, if we reflect that a young lady was considered sufficiently educated when she had learned to read. To be able to write, or understand the science of numbers, was deemed unnecessary. It is said that few of our puritan mothers were able to write their names; and that the wives of many distinguished men, when required to sign deeds, or other legal documents, could only leave their mark. But public sentiment and general practice are both reversed, and a new controlling element is becoming developed, destined to exercise an influence on the character of this people, such as has never been witnessed in any nation on the globe.

The present High School in Springfield began in 1841, as a school of a higher order, for the central district in the town. In 1849, in accordance with the law, then just reenacted, requiring the larger towns to maintain a High School, it was opened for the benefit of the whole town. It comprises both sexes, but the number of females is usually nearly double that of males. Latin, Greek and French, together with all the higher English branches and mathematics, usually found in academies, are taught in this school. The public schools, in all the more densely populated districts of Springfield, are now thoroughly graded. The children of the primary department pass to the intermediate, and thence to the grammar school. The pupils in the highest class in all the grammar schools are candidates for the high school, to which they are admitted as they are found qualified on examination. Rev. Sanford Lawton was appointed the first principal after its re-organization in 1841; he was succeeded by Ariel Parish in 1844, and it still remains under his charge.

Numerous private schools have existed since the legislative act of 1712 went out of date, declaring "that none shall keep a school, but such as are of sober and good conversation, with the allowance of the selectmen, and if any person *shall be so hardy as to set up a school without such allowance*, he shall forfeit forty shillings to the use of the poor of the town." But few of them have been of much note, until within the last twenty or thirty years. Among the earliest schools of this class were those opened for girls, which seemed necessary from the fact that all provision for instruction of a high order appeared to have been made with a special reference to the education of boys, to which allusion has already been made. Between 1812 and 1820, a part of the old Academy building was occupied by female teachers of private schools, for girls. In 1829, an association of gentlemen attempted to establish a Female Seminary of a more elevated character than had existed in this part of the State. Under the charge of Miss Julia Hawkes, it acquired a high reputation for thoroughness, and gained a high degree of popularity. Its existence, however, was brief, and was succeeded by the school opened under the direction of Rev. George Nichols, which continued till about 1843, when it went into the hands of Misses Mary and Celia Campbell, in whose charge it continued till within the last four or five years. Under their care, it was deservedly a favorite and popular institution. Although patronized chiefly by the inhabitants of the town, many of its pupils were from abroad, and it performed a valuable service for those who enjoyed its privileges. Indeed, in the absence of public provision for female education, such a school was indispensable to the wants of the community.

About the year 1833, Rev. Sanford Lawton opened a private school for boys, which he continued till called to take charge of the higher grade of public schools in 1841. From that time, he was succeeded by several teachers, who received pupils of both sexes, and during the past six or eight years it has been placed on a more permanent basis by E. D. Bangs, and is known as the "Springfield English and Classical Institute."

In noticing the schools and school system of Springfield thus in detail, undue prominence is not sought to be given to them, but they are presented and described as the type of the schools and school systems of the region.

Northampton originally comprehended nearly all the territory bordering the Western bank of the river between the North and South limits of Hampshire County, as it now exists—including the present towns of Easthampton, Westhampton and Southampton, and a part of Hatfield and Montgomery. A settlement was commenced there in 1654. From 1662 to 1812, Northampton was the half-shire town of Hampshire County, comprising the three river Counties—Hampden, Hampshire and Franklin. As one of the oldest and most important towns, early action on the subject of education would naturally be sought for here; and we accordingly find that action was taken in the matter as early as 1663. In 1748, it was voted to have schools in "distant parts of the town, to instruct in reading and writing, viz: on the Plain, over Mill River, Bartlett's Mills, and new Precinct." In 1750, the Selectmen were ordered to provide a schoolmaster for the "Second Precinct." The present town of Southampton is that section known as the Second Precinct.

Previous to 1748, no school room was kept except in the old village; but after that time appropriations were made with a good degree of regularity, for the "distant parts of the town." "Schools were kept by *men*, and in the *Winter and Spring only*." The common price for teaching was six shillings a week, or twenty-four shillings a month, and the teachers boarded themselves. When the teacher lived out of the district, something more was given. But this was not so insignificant a price after all, if we take into consideration the relative value of employments, and the expense of living. Besides, men were able to earn something in this way, when, during the winter season of the year, no other profitable employment could be obtained.

It should not be inferred that, because recorded action, relating to schools, is not abundant in the earlier days of Northampton, particular attention was not paid to the subject of education. It is well known that next to the regular preaching of the gospel, our ancestors were anxious to secure the blessings of the common schools; and those who settled in this region were no exception to those of whom we have the fullest evidence that the education and proper training of their children were prominent objects of attention. When, to obtain the necessaries of life, it required daily and incessant toil, of the most rigorous character, and when men could not safely labor in the field without a sentinel at their side to guard against the insidious approach of a savage foe, and were obliged to carry arms to church on the Sabbath, it is not a subject of wonder that formal action was not had and a full record of proceedings made.

Few towns of its size in Western Massachusetts have manifested a deeper interest in the success of their public schools than Northampton. This institution has been cherished by the people from the earliest period down to the present; and the systematic, efficient action of the School Committee, for many years past, together with the liberal appropriations of the people, fully corroborate the assertion. Two high schools, one for boys, and the other for girls, have for a long time been sustained. Recently, however, the two have been combined under an arrangement which promises still greater efficiency. Northampton has likewise been distinguished for her private schools. It was about the year 1830 that the Round Hill Boarding School flourished, under the charge of Hon. George Bancroft. More recently, the Gothic Seminary, a boarding and day school for young ladies, under the direction of Miss Margaret Dwight, acquired an excellent reputation. At present, the same building is occupied by Lewis J. Dudley as a family boarding school for boys.

Southampton has had her voluntary or select schools, almost from the commencement of the present century to the establishment of the Academy, in which opportunities have been furnished for the more complete education which was commenced at the primary school. In 1828, a charter for an Academy was obtained, for the erection of which, Silas Sheldon most liberally contributed between $2,000 and $3,000, and from him it received the name of Sheldon Academy. The institution for many years answered the expectations of its friends, but the increasing number of similar institutions, in the vicinity, diminished the attendance from the towns, and it is now little more than a select school, kept a part of the year for the benefit of the inhabitants of the place.

Of the individuals who have most fully identified themselves with the cause of education, the name of Rev. Vinson Gould deserves a passing notice. He was settled as a colleague pastor with Mr. Judd in 1801. His experience as a teacher, and the earnest interest which he manifested in school instruction, rendered his influence very efficient. He possessed a remarkable facility for adapting his remarks to the capacities of those whom he addressed. Whether in the primary school, or as a member of the board of trustees in some Academy in the neighboring towns, he inspired all around him with fresh vigor in the cause.

This section of the State has been wonderfully prolific of educated men. Prof. B. B. Edwards, a native of this town, says: "the County of Hampshire has furnished more students for college, with possibly a single exception, than any other county in the United States. The town of Southampton, it may be said, without any undue exultation, is in this respect at the head of the county. In all that is paramount to all things merely political or social, it is the banner town, of the banner county, of the banner State." Between 1765 and 1845, about 48 individuals belonging to this town, received a college education. To this number may be added twenty or more from the little town of Easthampton adjoining, both towns formerly a part of Northampton, making an aggregate of some *seventy* persons who have received the honors of college; and the population of both towns united, as late as 1840, did not exceed two thousand inhabitants. Of this number of educated men, nearly fifty became ministers of the gospel. Perhaps nowhere in the commonwealth is the crowning excellence of the public school exhibited so clearly in its far reaching influence as in the instance just recited. From the humble beginnings of the early settlers, the common school system grew more and more into favor with the people, and became so firmly established in their affections, as one of the most valuable privileges in their possession, that it never ceased to prosper; and the fruits are visible in the highly intelligent population now dwelling in those towns,—in the widely extended agency of those men of thoroughly cultivated intellect,—and in the two valuable institutions which have grown up there, and diffused their benign influence over a multitude of minds, destined to do much towards controlling public sentiment and action.

WILLISTON SEMINARY was opened for the admission of students, in Easthampton, in December, 1841. It was incorporated with power to hold $50,000 for educational purposes; and not only that amount, but some $5,000 more have been bestowed by its munificent founder, Samuel Williston, and expended in its establishment and endowment. This institution has been favored with pecuniary advantages, which few academies and schools in Western Massachusetts have enjoyed. In consequence, it has been able to afford superior advantages to students who have resorted to it for instruction. Furnished with a suitable number of well qualified teachers, the division of labor in the various departments has rendered the instruction more efficient than it can be in schools where the minds of teachers are embarrassed and distracted by a multitude of duties. Although originally designed for males, a building was erected early for the accommodation of females. As a classical institution, few schools in the State sustain a higher reputation. The English Department is richly supplied with apparatus, and thorough instruction is given in it. Rev. Luther Wright was its first Principal, and continued at its head some ten years. The number of teachers employed is from eight to ten, and the number of students ordinarily in attendance is from 175 to 200.

Hadley was settled in 1659. In the absence of any definite information respecting its common schools during the early period of its history, it may be reasonably inferred that a like spirit prevailed, and that a similar course of action was adopted to that already described in other neighboring towns. The original founders of the town, John Webster and John Russell, with nearly thirty followers attending each, came from Connecticut. The former was appointed Governor there in 1656, and sustained that office several years. Mr. Russell was a minister at Wethersfield, and about thirty of his congregation accompanied him, and he became the first minister of Hadley. The character of these men was such as to insure a faithful attention to so important an element of prosperity in the colony as education. The institution known as "Hopkins' Academy," deserves attention. Three years before the settlement of Hadley, Governor Edward Hopkins, then of England, died in London, and by his last will bequeathed a part of his property for the encouragement of learning in New England. He had been in earlier life a London merchant, but removed to New England in 1637, and established himself at Hartford, Conn., and was Governor of that State every alternate year from 1640 to 1654. In his will, he says: "and the residue of my estate there, (in New England,) I do hereby give and bequeath to my father, Theophilus Eaton, Esq., Mr. John Davenport, Mr. John Cullick and Mr. William Goodwin, in full assurance, and trust, and faithfulness in disposing of it, according to the true intent and purpose of me, the said Edward Hopkins, which is to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths, both in the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times." He afterwards bequeathed "£500 to be made over to New England," for a like purpose. Mr. Davenport, one of the trustees, was a minister in New Haven, and Mr. Goodwin seems, at this time, to have resided in Hadley, though he had previously been an inhabitant of Hartford. These two gentlemen soon became the only survivors of the trustees, in whom was vested the power of disposing of the funds. They decided to "give to the town of Hartford the sum of £400, * * * * for and towards the erecting and promoting a grammar school at Hartford. We do further order and appoint that the rest of Mr. Hopkins' estate, both that which is in New England, and the £500 which is to come from Old England, when it shall become due to us after Mrs Hopkins' decease, be equally divided between the towns of New Haven and Hadley, to be in each of the towns respectively managed and improved towards erecting and maintaining a grammar school in each of them." Mr. Goodwin, in a certain agreement with the town, desired that the "name of the school may be called the HOPKINS SCHOOL." Such was the foundation of this institution. Other donations were made by various individuals, and the income of the funds is between five and six hundred dollars per annum. It appears that but a small portion of the sum bequeathed by Mr. Hopkins ever reached Hadley. Three hundred pounds were invested in building a "corn mill," which was burnt by the Indians; and two hundred and fifty pounds to be paid at the decease of Mrs. Hopkins *never came to Hadley.* The corporation of Harvard College, hearing that such a legacy was left for the benefit of New England, took measures to secure it for that college, and appointed an agent in London, remitting forty pounds sterling to stimulate and aid him. He was successful. In 1840, according to President Quincy, these funds, "on a foundation of productive and well secured capital, amounted to nearly thirty thousand dollars."

In 1816, the Hopkins school became an incorporated institution, under the name of HOPKINS ACADEMY. The expense of the present building was met, partly by individual subscriptions, and partly by half a township of land in Maine, granted to the Academy by the Legislature in 1820. The benefits arising from the funds are now open to all, whether belonging in Hadley or not. By a recent catalogue, it appears that of the 113 pupils who attended the school during the year, 69 were from Hadley, 13 from other towns within the present County of Hampshire, and 31 from other places.

In the town of South Hadley, formerly a precinct of Hadley, is located the MOUNT HOLYOKE FEMALE SEMINARY. This institution possesses many remarkable traits of character, and should receive a more extended notice than our limits will allow. Fortunately, the public have a full and graphic account of its inception, establishment and leading features, in the memoir of Miss Mary Lyon, its founder and first principal, prepared by Dr. Edward Hitchcock, late President of Amherst College. A brief sketch of its history and some of its leading characteristics only can be given here. No intelligible account of this institution can be presented without associating the name of Mary Lyon with the very walls of the building, from the corner stone to its completion, and with the minutest details of all its operations, from the day it was opened to the hour of her death. Born upon a "little rock-bound farm" in the retired town of Buckland, Franklin County, deprived of a father's care at the age of five years, the fifth of seven children, all dependent upon a very slender patrimony and the efforts of a widowed mother, her early advantages were exceedingly limited. From her childhood, she exhibited those peculiar elements of character which were so prominently developed in after life, and gave her success in every enterprise in which she embarked. She acquired her early education by extraordinary efforts on her part, and commenced her career as a teacher near

Shelburne Falls, receiving a compensation of *seventy-five cents* a week and board. After an experience of several years as a teacher, in various towns in Franklin County, she became associated with Miss Z. Grant in the Ipswich Seminary, Essex County, Mass. Here she had acquired maturity of mind and character, which led her to look forward to the accomplishment of some important result. The great theme of her contemplation and the object of her labors seemed to be, to devise a plan whereby female education might be elevated, and, at the same time, placed within the reach of those possessed of humble means. After surmounting obstacles that would have crushed any mind of ordinary capacity and energy, the result of her efforts was the establishment of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, at South Hadley.

The funds for the erection of the building were obtained chiefly by donations, and its rooms were ready to receive eighty pupils in the autumn of 1837. The main building is ninety-four feet by fifty, five stories high, including the basement. A wing has been added to each end of the main building more recently, by which the capacity of the structure has been more than doubled. A very prominent feature of the institution is, that it is strictly a family school on a large scale, to which no day pupils are admitted, and in which no domestics are employed. The labor of the establishment is divided among the whole number, each young lady having her portion assigned her, for which she is made responsible for a given time. Frequent changes are made, that each individual shall have a suitable variety in her employment; and great care is taken that the strength of none shall be over-taxed. It will be perceived, at once, that perfect system and order are absolutely essential to success, and these are carried through all the departments, both of labor and instruction. An error seems to prevail in many minds respecting the performance of labor here, viz: that it is one object of the seminary to teach pupils the science of domestic labor and management of household affairs, as a branch of instruction. All teaching in this department is incidental, each pupil performing that which she can do to the best advantage, the main object being to keep the expenses of the school at the lowest point practicable, and preserve or acquire habits of industry in the pupil.

The course of instruction embraces three years and three classes—the Junior, the Middle and the Senior. No candidate is received under sixteen years of age. The course embraces a wide range of studies, confined mostly to higher English branches and mathematics, though Latin and French are among the studies prescribed, and can be extensively pursued: indeed, a thorough knowledge of Latin is deemed quite essential. Linear and perspective drawing and instrumental music receive attention.

One grand object of this seminary was to furnish a supply of well qualified female teachers. In this respect it has accomplished a great work, a large proportion of its graduates having entered this field of employment. The popularity of the school has been remarkably uniform, having never waned from the beginning, not even when many predicted its downfall, on the death of its founder and accomplished principal, Miss Lyon, in 1849. At no time has its number been so great as during the past year, and never have so many been refused for want of room; —probably more than seven hundred applicants were unable to obtain admission at the beginning of 1854.

The town of Westfield, in the present County of Hampden, was nearly cotemporary with Northampton and Hadley, in its settlement. Woronoco, the Indian name of the place, was included in the original grant made to the first settlers of Springfield, and was first settled principally by families from that town. The spirit which characterized the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonists, with respect to education, prevailed among the original inhabitants of this town. Poor as they were, and subject to hardships of the severest kind, they never lost sight of the proper training and instruction of their children. From the commencement of this settlement, a schoolmaster was employed six months in a year, and, at a later period, through the whole year. The salary per year was from £38 to £50, paid in grain or money; a greater sum in proportion to the means than is paid to teachers at the present day. In accordance with the usual custom of the times, the selectmen performed the duties of school committee. For a century, all the children attended one school. The instructor was usually a man competent to teach the Latin and Greek languages. A school was first taught by a female in 1726. She was paid twenty-five shillings per month. Although the education of females was limited, all were taught to read and write. As the population and wealth increased, facilities were provided for furnishing more efficient instruction.

WESTFIELD ACADEMY. In the spring of 1793, the inhabitants of the town voted to raise £600 towards the establishment of an academy. During the following summer, application was made to the Legislature for an act of incorporation, which was granted. The first meeting of the Trustees was held in 1797. Soon after this, over one thousand dollars were obtained by subscription. In the winter of 1798, half a township of land in Maine, (then a province,) was given to the institution by the State, which was afterwards sold to John Berret, Esq., of Northfield, for the sum of $5,000. From the amounts thus obtained, a fund was created, the interest of which, together with the income of the school from tuition fees, has been applied to defray the expenses of the institution. The present building was erected in 1798, and completed in 1799. The academy was first opened for the admission of students January 1, 1800, on which occasion a dedicatory sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Lathrop of West Springfield, from Psalm 144: 12. The first preceptor was Peter Starr, who graduated at Williams College in 1799. He was afterwards tutor at Middlebury, where he studied law and now resides. He was assisted by Abijah Bisco, a graduate of Dartmouth in 1798, and by Luke Collins, a graduate of Williams College in the same year. The number of different scholars during the first year was 187. Ten of the number went through college, and four entered but did not complete their course.

Twenty-four preceptors have had charge of the academy during the fifty-four years of its existence, few remaining longer than from one to three years. Of those who continued longest in charge, were Emerson Davis, 14 years; Ariel Parish, 6 years; and Wm. C. Goldthwaite, 8 years, who is now the principal. The smallest number of pupils during any one year was 128, and the largest 432. Probably not far from ten thousand pupils have been connected with the school since its commencement. Few institutions have been so uniformly prosperous during a period of more than half a century. The instruction given has been of an eminently practical character, especially since about 1822, when the natural sciences were taught more extensively than had been customary even in many higher institutions. It was at this time that it went into the hands of Rev. Emerson Davis. A classical department has always been sustained, in which a large number have been prepared for college. The deep interest which the inhabitants of Westfield have taken in the prosperity of the academy, and the kindly interest they have manifested towards the students while connected with it, have had great influence to give it success.

The NORMAL SCHOOL, established in Westfield, is a State institution. It was the second State Normal School opened in Massachusetts, under the Board of Education, and was first located at Barre, in September, 1839, under the instruction of Prof. Samuel P. Newman, who died in 1842. In 1844 it was removed to Westfield, and was under the charge of Rev. E. Davis two years, when D. S. Rowe was appointed principal. The latter continued until April, 1854, when William H. Wells, Principal of the Putnam Free School, Newburyport, was appointed to take charge of it. In September, 1846, the new building erected for the accommodation of the school was first occupied. The house cost about $6,500, of which the State paid $2,500, the town $500, the central school district $1,500, and the remainder was obtained by subscription. A model or experimental school is connected with the institution, the pupils of which belong to the center school district. In this department, the members of the Normal School have an opportunity of spending a portion of their time as assistant teachers. Applicants for admission to the school, if males, must be at least 17 years of age, and 16 years, if females. None are received for less than three full terms, two of which must be successive terms. Instruction is free to all members belonging to the State,—those from other States are charged $6 a term, tuition. By a recent act of the Legislature, the sum of $1,000 is to be divided among those who may find it difficult to meet the expenses of a year's attendance at the

Normal School, without aid. This assistance is afforded only to those who shall have attended their second or third terms,—and each individual receives a sum proportioned to the distance traveled. Those obliged to travel more than ten and less than twenty miles, receive about half as much as those traveling between twenty and thirty miles, —and those living more than thirty miles distant receive about three times as much as the first class. About 160 towns in eleven counties of the State have been represented in the school. Since its first establishment, about 900 (males and females) have been members of the institution. The instruction is confined strictly to English branches, with the design of qualifying teachers more thoroughly to understand and teach the fundamental principles of the various branches taught in the common schools. Lectures are frequently given, on modes of teaching, school discipline, &c., to prepare the teacher, in the most efficient manner, for his work.

Of the three academical institutions of Hampden County, MONSON ACADEMY was established second in order of time. It was incorporated in 1804, and the building was erected in 1806, by the contributions of the citizens of Monson. Dedicatory services were performed at its opening, in October, 1806, and a sermon was preached by Rev. Richard S. Storrs of Longmeadow. A half-township of Maine lands was given by the Legislature, the avails of which, with individual subscriptions, formed the basis of the general fund of the institution. In 1825, a fund was raised, of which the income is nearly $400 a year, for the aid of indigent students, who might desire a liberal education, with a view to the christian ministry. The same year, a laboratory was built, and a fund formed by the donations of R. Flynt, to encourage excellence in the various branches of study. In 1842, the avails of this fund were devoted to the formation of the "Flynt and Packard Library," for the use of the academy, which contains a rare collection of books, both for reference and general reading, for the judicious selection of which the institution is greatly indebted to its recent principal, Charles Hammond. Within a few years, the buildings have been remodeled and greatly improved; large additions have also been made to the chemical and philosophical apparatus, for which the citizens of Monson contributed nearly $4,000. Among the deceased benefactors, the names of Joel Norcross and Rufus Flynt are honorably mentioned for their liberal donations. The first principal of the school was Rev. Simeon Colton, D. D., who left at the end of the first year, was re-appointed in 1821, and continued till 1830. He performed important services for the institution, in procuring funds, and in the purchase of apparatus in 1825. During the half century of its existence, fifteen principals have had charge of it, of whom Simeon Colton and Charles Hammond remained longest, the former nine, the latter eight years. The classical department has always sustained a high reputation. The whole number graduated from the institution and prepared for college previous to 1852 was 330,—the whole number who have become ministers and licentiates, 115. The female department is under the charge of a preceptress; the English department is taught by a gentleman, but both are under the general supervision of the principal. The New London and Palmer, and Amherst and Belchertown Railroads, which intersect the Western road at Palmer, four miles North of Monson, the former passing directly by the institution, render it easy of access.

WESLEYAN ACADEMY is located in North Wilbraham, ten miles East of Springfield, and about two miles South of the Western Railroad. It is under the control of the Methodist denomination, although not exclusively patronized by them. It was established in 1825. Rev. Wilbur Fisk, D. D., was its first principal, and his successors have been Rev. John Foster, A. M., Rev. David Patten, A. M., Rev. Charles Adams, A. M., Rev. Robert Allyn, A. M., and Rev. Miner Raymond, D. D., who is now at the head of the institution. The amount of funds belonging to it is $40,000, which have been obtained from private donations, legislative grants and the profits of the school, —invested in land, buildings, apparatus, furniture, &c. The course of study is extensive, including common English, mathematics, natural sciences, moral science and belles lettres, together with ancient and modern languages. Instruction is given in music—vocal and instrumental—also in ornamental branches. The institution is provided with very extensive apparatus, and a full course of lectures is given in the department of Natural Science each term. Special care is taken to prepare for their duties those who design to engage in teaching. The trustees have recently expended about $15,000 in the erection of new buildings, and in repairs on those formerly occupied. "Fisk Hall," recently erected, is a beautiful and convenient edifice. A large proportion of the students are provided with board and rooms at the boarding house, in two departments, one for ladies, the other for gentlemen. Diplomas or testimonials of the highest honors of the institution are conferred on members who sustain a high moral character, and accomplish the entire course of study in the various departments prescribed. The library contains about 1,500 volumes. Three Societies for mutual improvement are connected with the school, viz: The "Young Men's Debating Club and Lyceum," the "Union Philosophical Society," and the "Young Ladies' Literary Society." The number of teachers employed is ten,—the whole number of students during 1853 was over six hundred. About two hundred and fifty are ordinarily in attendance. Few institutions in the country have been more numerously attended, or have enjoyed greater prosperity than the Wesleyan Academy, for more than a quarter of a century.

South Wilbraham has, for several years, sustained by individual contributions a school of an academical character, of considerable merit.

Richard Dickinson, who died in Southwick in 1824, in his last will appropriated $15,618,01 for the benefit of the schools of that town. The interest of a portion of this, not to exceed one half, goes to the support of a grammar school, and the remainder to the district schools. The result has been that the town is satisfied with the amount thus received, seldom taxes itself to aid the schools, and consequently receives nothing from the State funds. Mr. Dickinson voluntarily assumes to relieve the people from the burden of educating their children, by the donation he has made. Two or three towns only in Hampden County have sustained high schools. Chicopee has had such a school in the village of Cabotville, during the last fifteen years, supported on a liberal scale, which has produced excellent results. Another at Chicopee Falls has been in operation during the last ten years. Both of these schools, located as they are in manufacturing villages, have reflected great credit on both the people and corporations, for their liberality and enterprise in sustaining the cause of education.

Palmer has, during the past three or four years, had its high school, kept successively in different parts of the year, in three villages of the town. Holyoke also has had a school of a higher grade.

In the early settlement of Berkshire County, the same care for schools is observable as has been noticed elsewhere. In the grant of the township of Pittsfield to the town of Boston in 1735, a lot of land was set apart, designed to furnish funds for their support. The town receives, at present, about $120 yearly, from lands thus appropriated more than a century ago. It is not easy to determine how soon a school was opened, but from the grant to which allusion has just been made, it may be reasonably inferred that there was no delay in providing means of instruction. But the movements for the erection of a school house seem to have been made in 1761. It was then proposed to erect one at each end of the town. Two years after, it was voted to build three school houses, one twenty-two feet square; the other two, seventeen, with four windows of 12 panes of glass. Thirty-six pounds were voted for building them. Rapid advances are evident soon after, for, in 1773, one hundred pounds were granted for the support of schools. Liberal grants have been made in subsequent years, and since 1799, appropriations have been made by the town for a grammar school. During several years past, a high school has been in very successful operation. The enterprise of Pittsfield has been conspicuous in the cause of education, as in every branch of business. Not only have her public schools been generously sustained, but in private institutions few places in the commonwealth have equaled this town.

The first incorporated literary institution in Pittsfield was the Pittsfield Female Academy. An association, formed in 1805, for the establishment of this institution, was incorporated in 1807. The buildings were in South street—the same now occupied by Miss Clara Wells, with a large building, once a church, which was used as a chapel and school room. It stood then where the South Church now stands, but has been removed and burned. The school went down after a few prosperous years, but was revived in 1827, and for about ten years enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity, under the successive administrations of Messrs. Eliakim Phelps, Jonathan L. Hyde, Nathaniel S. Dodge, and Ward Stafford. In this school, a large proportion of the female members of the old families of Pittsfield were educated. The PITTSFIELD SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES, of Miss Clara Wells, succeeded this, and has been increasing in popularity until the present time.

In 1826, the late Lemuel Pomeroy of Pittsfield, purchased the cantonment grounds, which had, for many years, been held by the U. S. Government for military purposes, erected upon them two spacious brick buildings, and established a boys' high school, under the name of the PITTSFIELD GYMNASIUM. The principal was Prof. Chester Dewey, a son-in-law of Mr. Pomeroy, formerly Professor of chemistry in Williams College, and the Berkshire Medical College, and now of Rochester, N. Y. Paul Dillingham established a successful boarding school for boys in the large house on South street, now occupied by Dr. Reed. It was continued by Rev. J. A. Nash, and under the name of the Pittsfield Gymnasium, by Edward G. Tyler, A. M. It closed some five years since. Rev. Wellington H. Tyler established the PITTSFIELD YOUNG LADIES INSTITUTE in 1841, on the premises formerly occupied by the Berkshire Gymnasium, (the cantonment grounds on North street.) The two buildings erected by Mr. Pomeroy were renovated and beautified by Mr. Tyler. A beautiful Grecian chapel was erected by him, as well as a gymnasium, which is probably the best building of its kind connected with any school in America. Mr. Tyler also added to and greatly adorned the grounds. In 1853 he sold the entire establishment to Rev. J. Holmes Agnew, D. D.

The BERKSHIRE MEDICAL COLLEGE, located in this town, was incorporated in 1823. It had its origin in the enterprise and liberality of a few individuals. It was for a time connected with Williams College, by which Medical degrees were conferred, under regulations similar to those recognized by the University of Cambridge. The Legislature has granted privileges to this institution, and some pecuniary aid, which have greatly benefited it. The number of students it has averaged annually has been about 100. Within a few years, the old edifice has been burned, and a new and improved building has been erected. The institution is now under superior arrangements, and is on a firmer footing than ever before. Since 1837, by an act of the Legislature, it constituted an independent Medical College, and degrees are conferred by the President, Trustees and Faculty of the Institution. It has a Board of Overseers consisting of the Trustees of the Institution, the President and Secretaries of the Massachusetts Medical Society, the Senators of the Commonwealth from the four Western Districts, *ex-officio*, and other distinguished gentlemen from various parts of the Commonwealth. It is recognized, therefore, as a State institution.

In a large number of the more populous towns in Berkshire County, there have been, since the commencement of the present century, academical institutions, or excellent private schools, affording instruction of a higher character than could be obtained in the common schools. Thus education has been very generally diffused, and while none have been left in ignorance, many have become distinguished in the higher walks of literature, and have exercised a controlling influence in the Commonwealth and throughout the whole country.

Lenox has an Academy, incorporated in 1803, known at its commencement by the name of "Berkshire Academy," but it was soon changed to LENOX ACADEMY. This institution has done good service, and exercised a favorable influence in its day.

Stockbridge and Great Barrington have been distinguished for their excellent private schools, of an academical character. That recently relinquished by E. W. B. Canning enjoyed the instruction of a gentleman of superior taste and qualifications as a teacher. The academy in the latter place acquired considerable notoriety under the direction of James Sedgwick, as well as the boarding and day schools under the charge of Misses

S. and N. Kellogg, and another under the direction of Miss Mary Woart.

The academy in Hinsdale is a recent institution, but has enjoyed a good degree of prosperity thus far. WORTHINGTON ACADEMY, just over the line in Hampshire County, was for many years *the* "Mountain Seminary," but has ceased to exist.

Franklin County, a part of Hampshire until 1812, bears a close resemblance in its educational features to those already described. Its inhabitants are industrious, love their home, and cherish every privilege tending to increase their enjoyment and enhance its attractions. Hence the influence of the church and school have been objects of their special care from the first settlement. The common school, although not so elevated in its character and attainments as in other portions of the State, where the population is more dense, has afforded privileges sufficient to render the whole community intelligent, and impart business qualifications of a high order. The character of its academical and private schools is similar to those already described.

Deerfield, the oldest town in the County, has long enjoyed the advantages of DEERFIELD ACADEMY, which has been favorably known in the community. Located in one of the most lovely villages in the valley of the Connecticut, provided with apparatus and other facilities, and favored, as it has been, with many teachers of high qualifications, it has performed good service in the cause of education.

Greenfield, prior to 1753, was a part of Deerfield. In November, 1749, the sum of 30 shillings, old tenor, was granted *per week* to the school dames at Green River, for their services. This apparently liberal compensation was owing to the great depreciation of the currency. A further illustration of it was furnished in the increase of the minister's salary, to correspond with the rate of depreciation. In 1747, it had been raised from £130 to £450; in 1748, to £800. A committee was chosen to provide the district with a school and school house. In 1763, a vote was passed to "hire a school the year round." In 1764, £13 6s. was raised for schools, to be divided on the scholar. There were at that time only three districts in the town.

In 1767, there were seven, and "but one school master, and he to move to each district according to ye proportion, and to have a school dame the other six months, and she to keep school in ye several districts according to their proportion. All the masters and dames that are improved, to be approved by the selectmen." Twenty pounds were raised for schools, and the meeting house was glazed.

The "HIGH SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES" was established in 1828, and remained under the charge of Rev. Henry Jones of Hartford, Conn., until about 1840. The location of this school, and the conveniences connected with it were such as have rarely been found in any institution of similar character. It enjoyed great favor in the estimation of the community for many years, received pupils from every section of New England, and many from other States. It embraced an extensive course of study, and was thoroughly instructed. The school declined after Mr. Jones left, and ceased after a few years.

An institution for the education of females in all the branches usually taught in high schools has been in operation since about 1837, under the instruction of the Misses Stone, daughters of Rev. Dr. A. F. Stone, and has been well sustained. It has the character of a thoroughly instructed school.

The FELLENBERG SCHOOL, commenced some twenty years ago, was designed to test the practicability of uniting study and manual labor, both for the sake of providing suitable exercise, and relieving the expenses of the student. James H. Coffin, a graduate of Williams College, an excellent mathematician, and a good instructor, had charge of the literary department. The experiment was brief and unsuccessful. The building erected for the institution is now occupied by the central district for a series of graded schools.

FRANKLIN ACADEMY, at Shelburne Falls, was incorporated in 1833. It has been more largely patronized than any other literary institution in the county, in the same length of time. It is under the direction of the Baptist denomination. Rev. John Alden, from its commencement and for many years, was its principal. It became embarrassed by an effort to erect new buildings to provide for the increasing number of students, and to connect with it a manual labor department, but by the liberality of the Messrs. Lamson, whose enterprise has done much for the flourishing village of Shelburne Falls, the institution recovered, and has enjoyed a high degree of prosperity for several years. In 1847, a new charter was obtained, and the school started with renewed energy with the name of Shelburne Falls Academy. It has recently been proposed to raise a fund of $50,000, in order to place the school on a firm foundation, and to furnish advantages equal, at least, to the best afforded by any similar institution. H. A. Pratt, A. M., is now principal, aided by five assistants. A three-years course of study is contemplated, and it is proposed to change the name to "THE LAMSON CLASSICAL AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE."

NEW SALEM ACADEMY is one of the oldest in the Western Counties, having been incorporated in 1795.—The NORTHFIELD INSTITUTE was started some years since, as an experiment to establish a manual labor school, but did not succeed. "GOODALE ACADEMY," in Bernardston, was incorporated in 1833. Rev. Vinson Gould was its first principal, and Pliny Fisk, A. B., has charge of it at the present time. It has done valuable service, in an unpretending way, to the town where it is located and those in the neighborhood.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE was the second institution of the kind established in this Commonwealth. Col. Ephraim Williams, from whom it derived its name, and by whom it was endowed, was born in Newton, near Boston, in the year 1713. He lost his life in an expedition against the French, September 8th, in the year 1755. On the 22d of July previous, he made his last will in which, after making certain provisions, he ordered "that the remainder of his lands should be sold, at the discretion of his executors, within five years after an established peace; and that the interest of the moneys arising from the sale, and also the interest of his notes and bonds should be applied to the support of a *Free School*, in a township west of Fort Massachusetts, provided, * * * *." The property was sold, and the funds were allowed to accumulate until 1785, when the executors applied to the General Court for an act to carry into effect the will of the testator. An act was accordingly passed, incorporating a *Free*

School in Williamstown, and nine gentlemen were named in the act as trustees of the fund and the school, who voted in 1788 to erect a school house. The Legislature granted them a lottery which yielded about $3,500; the inhabitants of the town raised about $2,000 more towards the building, and in 1790, the brick edifice (now the west college,) was completed. Its dimensions were 82 feet in length, 42 in breadth and 4 stories in hight. The "*Free School*" was opened October 20, 1791, under the instruction of Rev. Ebenezer Fitch, previously a tutor in Yale College, and a graduate of the same. Mr. John Lester was his assistant, and an usher was afterwards added. There were two departments, an academy or grammar school, and an English free school. In the former were taught all those branches comprised in the course of education in the colleges. A yearly tuition of thirty-five shillings was charged. The latter was chiefly composed of boys from the higher classes in the town schools, to whom instruction was given in the common English branches.

A disposition to convert the *Free School* into a College became evident immediately after its commencement. Accordingly, at a meeting of the trustees in May, 1792, a petition was prepared to be sent to the General Court at its next session, asking that such a change might be effected. This petition, after setting forth the desirableness of the object, concludes with this prayer: "Your memorialists therefore humbly pray your honors that the Free School in Williamstown may be incorporated into a College by the name of WILLIAMS HALL, and that the nurturing and liberal hand of the Legislature may be extended to it by a grant of land in the Easterly part of the Commonwealth, or in such other way as to your honors may seem fit." The petition was successful, and thus commenced the career of this important and useful institution.

The property vested in the free school was transferred to the College, and a grant of $4,000 made from the State Treasury for the purchase of a library and apparatus. Dr. Fitch was appointed President of the College, and entered upon his duties in October, 1793. The English Free School was discontinued, but the academy continued until 1806. The first Commencement was held September 2, 1795. Samuel Bishop, John Collins, Chancy Lusk, and

Dan Stone received the first honors of the institution. Chancy Lusk took the valedictory. In May, 1796, the Legislature granted two townships of land, which were sold for $10,000. A catalogue was published in 1795, containing the names of 77 students. According to Dr. Robbins, the antiquarian, this was the first catalogue of the members of a college ever printed. In 1805 and 1809, two other townships of land were granted, of which the avails were about $10,000. Until the year 1808, great prosperity attended the College. In 1804 there were 144 names of students enrolled upon its catalogue. Its library contained over 2,000 volumes. In the Spring and Summer of 1808, a difficulty arose between the students and the faculty, on account of the unpopularity of some of its officers, which seriously interfered with its progress and success. The four classes then in the college produced more graduates than any four classes down to 1834. The decline of the institution continued, and in 1815, Dr. Fitch tendered his resignation to the trustees. In justice to President Fitch, it should be stated that the unfavorable condition of the college was rather the result of the injudicious action of one of its professors, than any other cause. Dr. Fitch died in Bloomfield, N. Y., March 21, 1833, aged 76 years.

Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore, Professor of Languages in Dartmouth College, was elected President of Williams College in 1815. At a meeting of the board of trustees, in the same year, a committee of six persons was appointed to take into consideration the subject of removal of the college to some other part of the Commonwealth. This committee reported adversely. The idea had been broached, however, and Dr. Moore appearing to be convinced, from the day of his inauguration, that the college could never prosper in its present location, urged very earnestly its removal. During the six years that Dr. Moore was connected with the college, the subject of removal was earnestly agitated, and two-thirds of the board of trustees were in favor of it. Under these circumstances, many students left the institution, while few new ones became members, so that the second class under Dr. Moore's administration graduated only seven individuals. The opinion in favor of a change of location continued to gain strength. Not only the trustees, but the faculty were generally in favor of it. At length, a special meeting of the corporation of the college was held in November, 1818, when, with slight opposition, it was "*Resolved*, That it is expedient to remove Williams College to some more central part of the State. * * * That in order to guide the trustees in determining to which place the college shall be removed, and to produce harmony, the following gentlemen, viz: Hon. James Kent, Chancellor of the State of New York; Hon. Nathaniel Smith, Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut; and the Rev. Seth Payson of New Hampshire, be a committee to visit the towns in Hampshire County, and determine the place to which the college shall be removed."

This committee reported to the board at Pittsfield in May following, that Northampton was the proper place to which the removal should be made. An address was issued to the people, setting forth the reasons for the proposed change of location; also a proposition was made to the trustees of Amherst Academy, requesting them to unite their charitable funds with the college, in case it was removed to Northampton, but it was rejected, unless they would change the location to Amherst. The president and others were instructed to petition the Legislature on the subject of removal, and request leave to effect it. This petition met with a spirited opposition from the citizens of the town and county, and by them a subscription of $17,500 was raised and laid before the Legislature, which was to be paid in case the college should not be removed. The Legislature, after a long and boisterous discussion, decided against a change of location.

In the meantime, the inhabitants of Hampshire and adjoining counties had not been idle. Fifty thousand dollars had been already pledged by them, and pledged to the college in case of its removal. The expectation of establishing a college in Hampshire County had been created by this excitement, and the people of Amherst taking advantage of the opportunity, raised liberal subscriptions and erected buildings, with the design of obtaining a charter. Dr. Moore having stated his intention of resigning his office, it was immediately proposed to place him at the head of the new institution at Amherst. He accepted the invitation, and left Williams College at the Commencement after the date of his resignation, July 17, 1821. He immediately went to Amherst, where he was inaugurated in the following September. He continued there but a short time, however. His death occurred within two years after leaving Williamstown, at the age of fifty-three years.

Rev. Edward D. Griffin, then a minister in Newark, N. J., was elected as the third president of Williams College, and he was inaugurated Nov. 14, 1821. The last half dozen years previous to this date will ever be remembered as a gloomy period by the friends of this institution. But from the appointment of Dr. Griffin, confidence revived, and the prospects of the college became more hopeful. The number of students began to increase immediately. The Berkshire Medical Institution at Pittsfield, was placed under its supervision—an Alumni Association was formed, to unite the influence and patronage of those who had been educated by it, for its support—its friends generally rallied, and raised a fund of $25,000, which imparted new life and vigor to all its movements. Bequests were received from several individuals, affording several thousand dollars for the increase of the library, and the establishment of a fund for the benefit of indigent students. The Alumni, also, raised nearly $5,000, the interest of which was to be expended for the purchase of apparatus and instruments. Great prosperity and valuable improvements marked the administration of Dr. Griffin. He continued to preside over the institution till 1836, when, from declining health, he was obliged to resign. In September of that year, he left Williamstown with expressions of deep sorrow and regrets on the part of the faculty, students and citizens generally. Dr. Griffin returned to Newark, where he died November 8, 1837, in the 68th year of his age, having been President of the college 15 years.

Prof. Mark Hopkins was unanimously elected as successor to Dr. Griffin, and was inaugurated in September, 1836. The present administration has been marked as one of great prosperity during the long period of nineteen years. Wise counsels and judicious action have imparted strength and integrity of character to the institution, from which its friends may reasonably indulge the highest anticipations for the future. During this period, great improvements have been made. The astronomical observatory—said to be the first erected on this Continent—was built in 1837, mostly through the instrumentality of Prof. A. Hopkins. The magnetic observatory was constructed and presented, together with the land on which it stands, to the college, by Prof. A. Hopkins. This, also, is said to be the first in this country. In October, 1841, the building known as "East College" was destroyed by fire. During the following summer, two new edifices, East and South College, were erected. In 1842, a full set of minerals of the State of New York was presented to the college by Prof. E. Emmons of Albany. On Wednesday, August 16, 1843, the society of alumni celebrated the semi-centennial anniversary of the founding of the college. The gathering was large and exceedingly interesting in its proceedings. Judge O. B. Morris of Springfield occupied the chair, as the first president of the alumni association.

Amos Lawrence, Esq., of Boston, in the year 1844–5 and 6, made munificent donations, amounting to nearly $30,000. The library building, erected with a portion of these funds, was named LAWRENCE HALL.

Our limits will not allow the mentioning of many interesting particulars relating to this college. About 1810, Woodbridge Little of Pittsfield bequeathed $5,500 to the college, for the benefit of indigent young men, studying for the ministry. The names of Samuel J. Mills, Gordon Hall, and others, will long be remembered as instrumental in the first missionary efforts, and the formation of the A. B. C. F. M. Association. They were members in the darkest period of its history. Mr. Hall graduated in 1808, and Mr. Mills in 1809. Nearly one half of the whole number of its graduates have become ministers of the gospel.

Ware looks after the education of her children as well as the running of her spindles. The first action respecting schools appears in 1757, when it was "Voted to Devid ye Peraish into two partes for a scool." In 1762, "Voted to Raies £12 for skoling. Voted that Eatch Quarter" (of the town) "shall Skool out there part within the year or be forfit." An excellent high school has been sustained there for a number of years, under the charge of Mr. Hunt.

MT. PLEASANT CLASSICAL INSTITUTION, AMHERST. This school, designed exclusively for boys, was established about the year 1827, on the plan of the German Gymnasia, under the charge of Chauncey Colton, D. D., and Francis Fellows. The location was about three-fourths of a mile north of the colleges, on one of the loveliest sites in the Connecticut Valley. It acquired great fame in a short time, but soon declined, and in a few years was abandoned. The buildings, which were very commodious, were occupied in 1835 by Rodolphus B. Hubbard, for a manual labor school. About 1847, Rev. J. A. Nash, formerly located in Pittsfield, purchased the premises, and started a boarding school for boys, which is now one of the best schools of that class in this section of the State.

AMHERST ACADEMY. In the year 1812, a subscription was started by Samuel F. Dickinson and Hezekiah W. Strong, for establishing an academy in Amherst. With the funds raised, a brick edifice was erected. Success attended the enterprise, and at the session of the Legislature in 1816, an act of incorporation was obtained. Among the names of the board of trustees, given in the act, appears that of Noah Webster, who was then residing in Amherst, and who, subsequently, was one of the earliest projectors and benefactors of Amherst College. The academy was sufficiently prosperous to answer the general object for which it was established; but there seemed to exist in the community a solicitude to know what measures might be adopted to accomplish greater results.

AMHERST COLLEGE took its first inception from this point. In the year succeeding the incorporation of the academy, Rufus Graves submitted a plan for increasing its usefulness, by raising a fund for the gratuitous education of pious young men for the ministry. It was proposed "to establish a professorship of languages, with a permanent salary, equal to the importance and dignity of the office." The plan was not favorably received, and was soon abandoned. The basis of a single professorship was deemed too narrow to accomplish what the exigencies of the times and the church seemed to demand. The committee appointed to devise a plan of operations, in accordance with the advice of friends in various parts of the commonwealth, determined to enlarge their plan, and lay the foundation of a collegiate institute, separate from the academy. In 1818, they had proceeded so far as to present a constitution and system of by-laws, in which it was stipulated that the sum of $50,000 should be raised, and sacredly kept as a charity fund, five-sixths of the income to be appropriated annually for the classical education of indigent pious young men for the sacred profession, and one-sixth to be added to the principal for its perpetual increase. A convention of ministers and delegates from the old county of Hampshire and the Western part of Worcester County, in which *thirty-six* towns were represented, met in Amherst to consider the expediency of establishing a "charitable institution," on the basis already named. On the 30th September, they reported in favor of "establishing a religious and classical institution, on a charitable foundation, in the town of Amherst, and recommended that suitable measures be adopted by the trustees of Amherst Academy for the establishment of a *college*, in connection with the charitable institution, possessing all the advantages of the other colleges of the Commonwealth, and that arrangements be made to open the institution as speedily as possible." This report, after a free discussion, was adopted by a large majority of the convention.

On the 20th of the same year, at a special meeting of the trustees, a committee was appointed to confer with the trustees of Williams College, relative to the union of the two institutions. The proposition of a union met with no encouragement. As the trustees of Williams College had already "resolved that it was expedient to remove their college on certain conditions"—and as the committees appointed by them, with full powers to fix a location, had decided in favor of Northampton, and they were only awaiting the decision of the General Court for leave to remove to that place, the trustees of Amherst Academy suspended their action, to learn the result. The petition of the Williams College trustees was rejected.

The trustees of Amherst Academy resolved immediately to carry into execution the plan already sanctioned by the convention. Under the most discouraging circumstances, for want of means, such were the exertions of the board, the committee and friends of the institution, that in *ninety* days, the South edifice in the range of buildings, one hundred feet long and four stories high, was ready for shingling. The corner stone of this building was laid August 9th, 1820, by Rev. Dr. Parsons, president of the board, and a highly appropriate address was delivered by Noah Webster, LL. D. In November, 1820, at a special meeting, the trustees resolved to establish professorships in the three departments of languages, rhetoric, and mathematics and natural philosophy. May 8, 1821, Dr. Zephaniah Swift Moore, president of Williams College, was elected president, and it was voted at the same meeting that the institution should be opened on the third Wednesday of September. Dr. Moore was inaugurated on the 18th of September, 1821. The number of students at the opening of the institution was 53, arranged in four regular classes. Application was made for a charter in 1823, but it met with little favor. In June (30th,) of the same year, a most calamitous event befell this infant seminary, by the sudden and unexpected removal of the president by death. Without funds—without a charter—without a head to direct, its future prospects were, indeed, shrouded in gloom.

Rev. Heman Humphrey was elected in July to fill the office thus rendered vacant, and was inaugurated October 15th, 1823. Though the petition of the trustees had been twice rejected by the General Court, they still persevered, and after a severe struggle, a favorable report was obtained. The charter was granted February 25th, 1825. A board of seventeen trustees, consisting of seven clergymen and ten laymen, was named in the instrument. It was claimed that the Commonwealth should be represented in this board because it would be the duty of the Legislature to endow it, and the State ought to have some oversight of its funds. But, notwithstanding the repeated applications of its friends for appropriations, not a dollar was ever received from the State, till nearly a quarter of a century had passed after the charter was granted. From the time the act of incorporation was received, the history of Amherst College actually dates its beginning. Dr. Humphrey remained at the head of the institution till April 15th, 1845. During this long administration, he performed signal service for the college, for which its friends owe him a large and lasting debt of gratitude. He carried it through some of its severest trials, threw light around its path in its gloomiest hours, and withdrew from it while its course was yet "onward and upward." Rev. Edward Hitchcock was elected his successor, and most acceptably discharged the duties of his office until 1854, when he resigned. On the 22d of November, the same year, Rev. William A. Stearns was inaugurated in his place.

One condition on which Dr. Moore consented to become its president was "that the classical education to be given in the proposed seminary, should not be inferior to any of the New England Colleges." While it fully sustained the character desired in this respect, it has far exceeded all expectations in many others. First and most important of all, it has retained that religious element which was not less a fundamental principle in the designs of its founders, than it was in the plans of the puritans in laying the foundation of Harvard College. The whole number of graduates, up to 1854, was 1,084,—a larger number than the triennial catalogue of any other New England college shows, within the same period of time from its establishment. The "Charity Fund," which formed the basis of the institution, and now amounts to over $50,000, has, during the last ten years, paid the entire term bills of from forty to eighty students, annually, who were preparing for the christian ministry. This aid is given to *all* who apply with proper testimonials. Previous to 1845, about 500 had been thus assisted. The college has been blessed with ten special revivals. Probably more than 500 of its graduates are already in the ministry, or in a course of preparation for it. Of these, 100 are now settled pastors in Massachusetts, and 45 have gone as missionaries to foreign lands. A table, carefully prepared by President Hitchcock, two years since, shows that it has furnished one-third more ministers per year, than Yale, twice as many as Middlebury, Williams, Dartmouth and Harvard colleges, and three times as many as any other Northern college. In a pecuniary point of view, great encouragement has been afforded within a few years. The largest early contributors to Amherst College were Adam Johnson of Pelham and Nathaniel Smith of Sunderland. The largest recent contributors have been Samuel A. Hitchcock of Brimfield, John Tappan and David Sears of Boston, and Samuel Williston of Easthampton. But the latter has been the most munificent patron, and his gifts cannot have fallen much short of $60,000. The Trustees once voted to confer his name upon the institution, but were unable to obtain his consent, at least for the present. It is believed the time will yet come when the name of this benefactor will be united with the college, as it is now engraven on the grateful hearts of its friends. Rev. Dr. Vaill, now of Somers, Conn., accomplished much in his strenuous efforts to procure funds for the College, during its severe pecuniary struggle. Help has recently come from the Government, in the sum of $25,000, half of which is to be appropriated to extinguish debts, and half to endow the "Massachusetts Professorship of Natural History." During the two years preceding 1848, a series of important and extensive improvements was commenced. Among the first was the erection of a building for a new cabinet of natural history, in connection with an astronomical observatory. Through the generous efforts of Josiah B. Woods of Enfield, and the liberality of more than forty gentlemen of the Commonwealth, nearly $8,000 were subscribed, and a beautiful edifice was completed and dedicated in 1848. As a consequence, rich and beautiful contributions have been bestowed by Professors Shepard and Adams, in mineralogy, geology, conchology, &c. Of the zoological cabinet, collected chiefly by Professor Adams, Professor Agassiz says: "It is my opinion that these collections will forever be a prominent ornament of the college of Amherst. I do not know in the whole country a conchological collection of equal scientific value."

A beautiful library building was erected in 1853, of the Pelham gneiss, and is essentially fire-proof. It is two stories high, containing the college library, consisting of some 10,000 or 11,000 volumes. This building, and some $10,000 for books, began with a donation, for the purpose, of $1,000, by George Merriam of Springfield. The architect of both the cabinet and library was Henry A. Sikes of Springfield. The history of this institution and the noble efforts of the men who originated and have successfully conducted it onward through adversity and prosperity to its present elevated position, deserve the ablest pen and the amplest space.

Through the first 150 years or more of the educational history of Western Massachusetts, much instruction was given by ministers. Of one who still remains, Rev. Dr. Cooley of Granville, an interesting chapter might be given. His school education commenced in 1777. He says, "the only school books were Dillworth's spelling book, the primer and the bible. The furniture, as I recollect, was a chair for the master, a long hickory and a ferule. Reading, spelling, a few of the business rules of arithmetic, the catechism and writing legibly, was the amount of common school education for sons; and for daughters, still less.—The luxury of a slate and pencil I never enjoyed till I entered college. Previous to 1796, no academy existed in Western Massachusetts, except a well endowed institution at Williamstown. In the Autumn of 1796, I commenced my family school. Probably as many as 800 have been under my tuition, and as many as 60 or 70 have entered the ministry; others have been high in office and members of Congress, &c. I have had between 20 and 30 under censure (rusticated) from colleges. A few lads have been sent me that were irreclaimably reckless. Almost without exception they *died in their teens!*" Dr. Cooley had a remarkable tact in influencing those under his care by moral suasion and kind address. He has performed a great work as a teacher as well as minister.

During this period, education was rather diffused among the masses than elevated in character. It imparted a vigorous constitution of mind to the community, but did not create that enterprising spirit and executive power that has since characterized New England, and, through it, the nation.

A second era began with the present century, when academies came into vogue, and private schools began to take a more elevated rank. The reciprocal influence of these and the better class of public schools wrought favorably upon each other, until about the year 1836.

The third period then commenced, which may be fairly termed "the Reformation." It was distinguished at the outset by the organization of the Board of Education, appointment of secretary or general superintendent of schools throughout the State, and establishment of normal schools. During this time, public schools have assumed an entirely new character, all other higher institutions have been stimulated to renewed efforts, and the effect is visible in every department of enterprise in the community. To Horace Mann, who rough-hewed and framed the system, and Rev. Barnas Sears, D. D., who is still "casting up" and rendering smooth the great thoroughfare of education, through which the nations are to pass, be all praise for what they have done!

APPENDIX.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLES.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLES.

NUMBER I.

Mean Temperature of each Month and Year, from January, 1848, *to December,* 1853, *at Springfield, Massachusetts.*

Months.	1848.			1849.			1850.			1851.			1852.			1853.		
	Morning.	Noon.	Sunset.	Morning.	Noon.	Sunset.	Morning.	Noon.	Sunset.	Morning.	Noon.	Sunset.	Morning.	Noon.	Sunset.	Morning.	Noon.	Sunset.
January,	25	35	29	18	28	22	22	36	29	23	34	28	16	28	23	19	32	27
February,	18	34	28	14	29	21	27	37	31	26	37	31	21	35	28	23	33	30
March,	28	41	35	32	43	39	31	40	35	34	47	38	28	39	34	31	41	37
April,	41	59	50	41	53	46	41	51	44	43	54	47	37	48	43	39	54	49
May,	58	71	62	50	64	56	52	61	51	56	66	56	50	67	59	54	66	60
June,	66	80	68	65	82	69	65	79	68	61	74	66	63	77	69	63	79	70
July,	63	81	67	66	81	70	72	81	74	68	80	71	67	82	74	66	80	71
August,	61	86	66	69	79	72	67	80	68	64	77	67	61	80	70	64	79	73
September,	49	73	56	58	71	63	59	70	57	57	73	58	55	68	66	57	72	64
October,	43	58	47	46	56	51	49	60	50	48	64	54	45	58	52	40	55	51
November,	29	45	32	43	53	48	39	50	41	32	42	36	34	42	39	35	46	40
December,	30	39	32	26	33	29	22	31	26	17	29	24	31	38	34	20	31	27
Mean.	42 and 7-12.	58 and 1-2	47 and 2-3	44	56	48 and 5-6	45 and 1-2	56 and 4-12	47 and 10-12	44 and 1-12	56 and 5-12	48	42 and 1-3	55 and 1-6	49 and 1-4	42 and 7-12	55 and 2-3	49 and 11-12
Yearly Mean	49 7-12			49 2-3			49 11-18			49 1-2			48 8-9			49 7-18		

1849 Warmest Year, . } Variation, 0 7-9 of a Degree.
1852 Coldest " . }

NUMBER II.

Showing the number of days it rained or snowed during any portion of the day, and the depth of water that has fallen at Springfield from January 1st, 1848, to December 31st, 1853, inclusive, in inches and hundredths.

MONTHS.	1848.		1849.		1850.		1851.		1852.		1853.	
	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.
January,	2.01	8	0.68	6	4.18	9	1.61	8	1.88	13	1.46	9
February	2 08	7	0.52	8	3.67	10	4.94	12	3.12	11	5.75	10
March,	3 06	7	3.91	9	2.94	8	1 82	9	2.54	15	2.33	13
April,	1.77	6	1.26	7	4.29	9	3.89	11	4.37	12	3.46	12
May,	8.34	14	4.63	12	8.21	17	4.10	14	2.88	9	4.88	15
June,	4.64	7	2.06	7	3.55	12	3.54	10	2.46	10	1.89	8
July,	3.61	11	3.19	8	5.28	14	3.95	12	2.96	8	6.43	11
August,	2.11	6	4.60	11	5.94	10	5 57	11	6.47	11	8 34	12
Sept.,	1.92	7	1.36	7	5.78	10	1.73	10	1.77	10	5.78	12
October,	3.28	10	7.50	12	4.03	11	6.96	11	2.59	13	4.34	8
Nov.,	3.99	7	2.56	13	2.11	10	4.84	10	5.45	15	4.88	9
Dec.,	4.57	14	2.04	13	3.82	18	2.77	7	3.95	13	1.82	8
TOTAL,	41.88	104	34.86	118	53.80	138	45.22	125	40.44	140	51.36	127
MEAN.	3.45	8 8-12	2.86	9 5-12	4.48	11 1-2	3.77	10 and 5-12	3.37	11 2-3	4.28	10 and 7-12

Total depth of water for Six Years, 22 feet 2 inches 56-100.
Average depth of water for each year, 44 and 43-100 inches.

NUMBER III.

Extremes of Temperature.

YEARS.	Coldest Month.	Warmest Month.	RANGE OF THERMOMETER.			
			DATE.	Mercury below Zero.	Mercury above Zero.	Extreme Variations.
1848.	February.	June.	January 11th.	11		
"			June 17th.		98	109
1849.	February.	August.	February 16th.	14		
"			June 21st.		100	114
1850.	December.	July.	December 31st.	8		
"			June 20th.		94	102
1851.	December.	July.	December 27th.	15		
"			September 12th.		95	110
1852.	January.	July.	January 22d.	16		
"			July 22d.		95	111
1853.	January.	July.	January 27th.	4		
"	December.		August 13th.		96	100
MEAN FOR SIX YEARS, - - - - -				11 1-3	96 1-3	107 2-3

NUMBER IV.

Mean Temperature of each Month and Year, from January, 1848, *to December,* 1853, *inclusive, at Amherst College.*

MONTHS	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
January,	28°.95	20°.02	25°.90	23°.79	19°.57	24°.26
February,	23 .71	18 .50	28 .42	27 .89	25 .17	26 .72
March,	32 .63	35 .37	32 .48	35 .51	30 .86	33 .82
April,	43 .32	43 .49	42 .91	46 .20	39 .44	44 .02
May,	59 .47	58 .42	53 .38	55 .61	56 .05	56 .70
June,	67 .63	66 .88	67 .27	63 .60	65 .38	66 .97
July,	69 .45	72 .09	72 .08	69 .13	69 .95	68 .73
August,	70 .56	68 .85	67 .10	66 .20	65 .16	67 .84
September,	57 .43	60 .05	59 .40	60 .93	58 .37	59 .54
October,	47 .31	47 .03	48 .18	51 .04	49 .31	46 .84
November,	33 .49	44 .08	39 .95	34 .54	36 .42	39 .14
December,	30 .56	28 .40	23 .45	20 .13	32 .85	26 .31
YEARLY MEAN,	47°.04	46°.52	46°.71	46°.21	45°.71	46°.57

1848, Warmest Year, } Variation, 1°.33.
1852, Coldest " }

NUMBER V.

Showing the number of days it rained or snowed during any portion of the day, and the depth of water that has fallen at Amherst from January 1st, 1848, *to December 31st,* 1853, *inclusive, in inches and hundredths.*

[In the second column of each year, are included those days on which fell even a sprinkle of rain or snow, too small to be measured.]

MONTHS.	1848.		1849.		1850.		1851.		1852.		1853.	
	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.	Depth of water.	Days it rained or snowed.
January,	2.92	11	0.99	6	4.75	14	1.66	8	2.41	13	2.02	10
February	2.60	8	0.99	14	3.56	9	5.08	10	3.35	13	6.69	12
March,	3.03	12	4.21	10	1.86	9	1.28	12	3.26	15	2.39	10
April,	1.55	13	2.24	9	3.93	10	4.43	12	4.71	12	3.79	12
May,	6.18	18	3.61	14	8.72	15	4.07	13	2.95	10	5.40	12
June,	2.58	10	1.53	11	2.88	14	3.69	9	2.54	8	3.64	13
July,	4.72	12	2.25	8	6.81	13	4.11	12	3.38	8	3.58	12
August,	1.53	7	7.86	12	6.50	13	3.03	8	5.19	12	7.13	14
Sept.,	2.49	8	1.40	9	4.93	11	2.05	10	2.47	8	5.66	11
October,	3.15	13	6.36	11	3.65	8	5.43	9	1.76	12	3.75	7
Nov.,	3.09	7	3.65	10	2.63	10	5.30	9	6.43	14	6.24	11
Dec.,	5.54	20	3.36	12	5.37	14	3.17	7	4.88	16	1.83	11
TOTAL,	39.38	140	38.45	126	55.59	139	43.50	120	42.68	141	48.24	135
MEAN.	3.28	11.67	3.20	10.50	4.63	11.58	3.62	10	3.56	11.75	4.02	12.25

Total depth of water for Six Years, 22 feet 3 inches 84-100.
Average depth of water for each year, 44 and 64-100 inches.

NUMBER VI.

Extremes of Temperature at Amherst.

Years.	Coldest Month.	Warmest Month.	Range of Thermometer.			
			Date.	Mercury below Zero.	Mercury above Zero.	Extreme Variations.
1848.	February.	August.	January 11th.	12		
"			June 17th.		91	103
1849.	February.	July.	February 16th.	10		
"			July 13th.		93	103
1850.	December.	July.	December 13th.	15		
"			June 20th.		90	105
1851.	December.	July.	December 27th.	15		
"			June 30th.		88	103
1852.	January.	July.	January 21st.	15		
"			June 16th.		93	108
1853.	January.	July.	January 27th.	2.5		
"			August 14th.		92	94.5
Mean for Six Years, - - - - -				11.6	91.1	102.7

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